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FRANÇOIS PIDOU.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.  
FROM  
THE REVOLUTION  
TO  
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

By T. S M O L L E T T, M. D.

VOL I.

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M D C C X C I V.





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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE purchasers of D. Hume's History of England having been long desirous of a continuation; the proprietor of Dr. Smollet's History (being in possession of a copy with the author's last corrections) has been induced to reprint that work, from the Revolution, where Hume's History ends, to the death of George II. in the year 1760.

To make this work more acceptable, the Sections, and other divisions, are given in a manner correspondent with those observed by Hume; so that any gentleman, possessed of the latter, may take up his History at the Revolution, where Hume breaks off, and find a regular connexion in this complete History given by Smollet.

In the latter part only of this work has the present Editor found it necessary to make any alterations. The war before the last had its source in America, and thereby drew forth our settlements there into consequence. This, with the loss of most of those settlements since to Great-Britain, had brought with it so many changes, that what was found politics and good sense then, is now totally

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deranged ; even facts themselves are become changed and the very state of the two countries has undergone a metamorphosis which was impossible to be foreseen by the shrewdest politician. To assist the views of so eminent a writer as Smollet, as well as to gratify the expectations of the judicious reader, a few, very few, alterations have been made on those heads. To have proceeded farther would have been a kind of sacrilege, and no less a fraud upon the original author, than upon the public.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
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TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND

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§ I. **T**HE constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections and oppress

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corporations. He possessed the right of chusing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of resistance, on which the Revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though he was created *jure humano*; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon Tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger: but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancor revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism were insensibly warmed into partisans; and King William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a calvinist, and always

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expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the CHAP.  
presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, con-  
sidered him as their peculiar protector, and entered  
into his interests with the most zealous fervor and  
affiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the  
church became jealous of his proceedings, and em-  
ployed all their influence, first in opposing his ele-  
vation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting  
his measures. Their party was espoused by all the  
friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman ca-  
tholics; by those who were personally attached to  
the late king; and by such as were disgusted by  
the conduct and personal deportment of William  
since his arrival in England. They observed,  
That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly  
aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law  
with insolence and rigor: That his army contained  
a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of  
the English Roman catholics whom James had em-  
ployed: That the reports so industriously circulated  
about the birth of the prince of Wales, the treaty  
with France for enslaving England, and the murder  
of the Earl of Essex, reports countenanced by the  
prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foun-  
dation: That the Dutch troops remained in London,  
while the English forces were distributed in remote  
quarters: That the prince declared the first should be  
kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland:  
That the two houses, out of complaisance to Wil-  
liam, had denied their late sovereign the justice of  
being heard in his own defence; and, That the Dutch  
had lately interfered with the trade of London, which

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**BOOK I.** was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment<sup>1</sup>.

§ II. William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: then he chose the members of his council, who were generally staunch to his interest, except the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Nottingham<sup>2</sup>; and these were admitted in complaisance of the church-party, which it was not thought advisable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state: the privy-seal was bestowed upon the Marquis of Halifax: the Earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the King's confidence, and Nottingham was considerable, as head of the church-party: but the chief favorite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy-councillors, as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordinance: the Treasury, Admiralty, and Chancery were put in commission;

<sup>1</sup> Somer's Collection. Reresby. Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> The council consisted of the Prince of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquises of Halifax and Winchester, the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonshire, Dorset, Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Fauconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley, the Lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscowen.

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twelve able judges were chosen'; and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of Dr. Ward, the King, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous stickler for his interest; and, in a particular manner, instrumental in effecting the Revolution. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to consecrate this ecclesiastic, though the reasons of his refusal are not specified; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the Bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry; moderate in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In consequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late King, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the Prince of Orange, who consulted him about the affairs of England. He assisted in drawing up the Prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his design. He was demanded of the States, by the English ambassador, as a British fugitive, outlawed by King James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry have been characterized

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Holt was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the Common-Pleas: the Earl of Devonshire was made Lord-Steward of the Household, and the Earl of Dorset Lord-chamberlain.—Ralph.

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**B O O K** in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Hallifax; the plausibility, the enterprising genius, the obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and ostentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin now brought into the Treasury, was modest, silent, sagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created Earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the sequel to the rank of Earl of Warrington, was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his master, composed the character of Bentinck whom the king raised to the dignity of Earl of Portland. The English favorite, Sidney, was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created Earl of Romney; a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honor and preferment ran strong in favor of the Whigs; and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

§ III. The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the King's writ of summons. The experiment of a new

election was deemed too hazardous, therefore, C H A P.  
 the council determined that the King should, by  
 virtue of his own authority, change the conven-  
 tion into a parliament, by going to the house of  
 Peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pro-  
 nouncing a speech from the throne to both Hou-  
 ses. This expedient was accordingly practised.  
 He assured them he should never take any step

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\* This expedient was attended with an insurmountable ab-  
 surdity. If the majority of the convention could not grant a  
 legal sanction to the establishment they had made, they could  
 never invest the Prince of Orange with a just right to ascend  
 the throne; for they could not give what they had no right  
 to bestow, and if he ascended the throne without a just title,  
 he could have no right to sanctify that assembly to which he  
 owed his elevation. When the people are obliged by tyranny,  
 or other accidents, to have recourse to the first principles of  
 society, namely their own preservation, in electing a new  
 sovereign, it will deserve consideration, whether that choice  
 is to be effected by the majority of a parliament which has  
 been dissolved, indeed by any parliament whatsoever, or  
 by the body of the nation assembled in communities, corpo-  
 rations, by tribes, or centuries, to signify their assent or  
 dissent with respect to the person proposed as their sove-  
 reign. This kind of election might be attended with great  
 inconvenience and difficulty, but these cannot possibly be  
 avoided when the constitution is dissolved by setting aside  
 the lineal succession to the throne. The constitution of  
 England is founded on a parliament consisting of King,  
 Lords, and Commons; but when there is no longer a King,  
 the parliament is defective; and the constitution impaired:  
 the members of the Lower House are the representatives of  
 the people, expressly chosen to maintain the constitution in  
 church and state, and sworn to support this right of the crown,  
 as well as the liberties of the nation; but though they are  
 elected to maintain, they have no power to alter the constitu-  
 tion. When the King forfeits the allegiance of his subjects, and

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BOOK that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them that Holland

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it becomes necessary to dethrone him, the power of so doing cannot possibly reside, in the representatives who are chosen, under certain limitations, for the purposes of a legislature which no longer exists: their power is of course at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals that constitute the community. The right of altering the constitution, therefore, or of deviating from the established practice of inheritance in regard to the succession of the crown, is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his share in the general determination, whether his opinion be signified *viva voce*; or by a representative whom he appoints and instructs for that purpose. It may be suggested that the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne without any convulsion, or any such difficulties and inconveniences as we have affirmed to be the necessary consequences of a measure of that nature. To this remark we answer, that since the revolution these kingdoms have been divided and harassed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly seek the destruction of each other; that they have been exposed to plots, conspiracies, insurrections, civil wars, and successive rebellions, which have not been defeated and quelled without vast effusion of blood, infinite mischief, calamity, and expense to the nation: that they are still subjected to all those alarms and dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne, and the efforts of an artful Pretender; that they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interest sacrificed to foreign connexions, of which they can never be disengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interposition of the Prince of Orange. King James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid under such restrictions that it would not have been in his power to tyrannize over his subjects either in spirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been vested in the two Houses of parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of the church and state, and superintend the economy of the administration, in the appli-

was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance: that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration: that a good settlement was necessary, not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: he, therefore, begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensably necessary for the welfare of the nation. The Commons returning to the house immediately passed a vote of thanks to his Majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the House; so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These, therefore, brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden in the Lower House put the question, Whether a king elected by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons assembled at Westminster,

cation of the public money: a law might have passed for annual parliaments, and the King might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. Had these measures been taken, the King must have been absolutely disabled from employing either force or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people must have been fairly represented in a rotation of parliaments whose power and influence would have been but of one year's duration.

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coming to and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament, and, as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The Whigs replied, that the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the King, Lords, and Commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: they proved this assertion by examples deduced from the history of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expense, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove fatal to the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the Lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the commons sent it back to the Upper-House, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act the Lords and Commons assembled at Westminster were declared the two houses of parliament to all intents and purposes: it likewise ordained, That the present act, and all other acts to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy,

should take the new oath incorporated in this act under the ancient penalty; and, That the present parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the House of Commons about the revenue which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least, during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the opposition affirmed that these grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the King and Queen; and the House resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his Majesty, importing, that the late King had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his Majesty with their lives and fortunes; they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessment; and both Houses waited on the King to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place till several Lords spiritual as well as temporal had, rather than take the oath, absented themselves from parliament. The non-juring prelates were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken, of Bath and Wells, White, of Peterborough, Lloyd, of Norwich, Thomas, of Worcester, and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath, were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Clarendon, Litchfield,

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1689. Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the Lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the House at one time: but, before they retired one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the Earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Non-jurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

§. IV. This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king having received some intimation of their designs from intercepted letters, ordered the Earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The Lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace: but the Commons empowered him by a bill to dispense with the Habeas Corpus act till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favor of the

late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king resolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room such regiments as were most tinctured with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by Marshal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for King James, and with four pieces of cannon began their march for Scotland. William being informed of this revolt, ordered General Ginkel to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the King did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they used this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

#### § V. The coronation-oath<sup>1</sup> being altered and

<sup>2</sup> The new form of the coronation-oath consisted in the following questions and answers. "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?" "I solemnly promise so to do."

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BOOK I. 1689. explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the Bishop of London officiating, at the king's desire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malecontent; and next day the commons, in a body, waited on the King and Queen at White-hall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamor and discontent, signified, in a solemn message to the House of Commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation or total suppression of the hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition on the subjects; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude and affection, declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

§ VI. He had, in his answer to their former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: he had explained

"Will you to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?" "I will." — "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law, do, or shall appertain unto them or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."

Then the King or Queen, laying his or her hand upon the gospels, shall say, "The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God." the

the exhausted state of the Dutch; expatiated upon the zeal of that republic for the interests of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the protestant religion; and expressed his hope that the English parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition, but likewise further support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the States-General in William's expedition, amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the Commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raising and maintaining an army of two-and-twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet: but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the king considered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The Whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment: but he was not at all pleased with their precaution.

§ VII. William was naturally biased to Calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he had

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**B O O K** entertained for the church of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the Bishops who had thwarted his measures. By absenting themselves from parliament, and refusing the oath, they had plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to non-conformity, that all protestant dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy; he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service: he said, such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the House of Lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the King's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the House. These fruitless efforts in favor of dissenters augmented the prejudice of the churchmen

against King William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test: but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the House of Lords moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender them; and, in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the Commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the king to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity, and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and of entire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied,

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**BOOK** though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honor of their sincerity.

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**1689.** § VIII. The King though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the Earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of An act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II. provided that they should hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut; that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties: That, in case of being chosen into the office of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who should take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against non-conformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices: yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, to commit them

to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to anabaptists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the King and Queen, and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposal of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel: besides, he would not pretend to screen the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

§ IX. We have observed, that, in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for uniting their Majesties protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the King, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favor of the dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should \* be an addition of laity in the commission to be

**BOOK I.** " given by the King to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution?" A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hopes of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty passed in the House of Lords: but the Commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of malecontent members, who had retired from parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the King, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would maintain the church of England as by law established; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his Majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be consulted in ecclesiastical

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matters, according to the ancient usage of parliament; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration proper methods for giving ease to protestant dissenters. Though the King was displeased at this address, in which the Lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer, by the mouth of the Earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care, recommending the dissenters to their protection, and promising to summon a convocation as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favor of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it, had no other view than that of displaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the church; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which diminished their strength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being, therefore, violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. The King, however, was so bent upon the execution of his design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

§ XI. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the King's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the Sovereign was entirely

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master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the King's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the Commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both Houses, at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small Term of years, that the King might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the Queen Dowager, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the judges, and Mareschal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The Commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

§. XII. The King took umbrage at these restraints.

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laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the Revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the House, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the King and the lords lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, the bill was suffered to lie neglected on the table: but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the King, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the canal of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his Majesty: but complained at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favor of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies.

§ XIII. These remonstrances made such impression on the King, that he sent a message to the House by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement

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and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his Majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate that the King's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that he for this purpose pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party: on the other hand, the Earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends: both sides succeeded in kindling an animosity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicion that mutually prevailed.

§ XIV. It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the Lower House, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the throne: to this the Lords added, "Or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The Bishop of Salisbury, by the King's direction, proposed that the Princess

Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, as the next protestant heirs, failing issue of the King, and Anne Princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the Lower House, where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late King and the lineal succession; but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to see monarchy altogether extinguished in England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of succession. The Lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two Houses. At length the bill was dropt for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the Princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucester.

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§ XV. In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France, began at this period to take effect. The Princes of the empire assembled in the diet solemnly exhorted the Emperor to declare war against the French King, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Osnabruck, Nimeguen, and the truce, invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself

**BOOK** an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They, therefore, besought his Imperial Majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis: in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The States-General published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the Republic in the persecution which he had raised against the protestants; with having cajoled and insulted them with deceitful promises and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and, finally, with having declared war against the States, without any plausible reason assigned. The Elector of Brandenburg denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The Marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter-declaration to that of Louis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French King of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression, and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The Emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side

should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever : that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabruck, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should have been vindicated : that, in case of a negociation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated *bona fide* : and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a separate article, the contracting powers agreed, that, in case of the Spanish King's dying without issue, the States-General should assist the Emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy : That they should use their friendly endeavours with the Princes Electors, their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans ; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

§ XVI. William, who was the soul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances ; and the Commons unanimously resolved, that, in case his Majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigor. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the King, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French King against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did

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**BOOK** not doubt but the alliances already made, and those  
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 1689. that might hereafter be concluded by his Majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French King to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom; nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England: in the mean time they assured his Majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his Parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the House of Commons. This was a welcome address to King William. He assured them that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French Monarch. On this occasion Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the Emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

§ XVII. Having thus described the progress of the Revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March;

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and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of Members. The Duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The Duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master: but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partisans of James were headed by the Earl of Balcarras, and Graham Viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the Duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the Lords and Commons assembled at Edinburgh, the Bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of King James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late King set up the Marquis of Athol in opposition to the Duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The Earls of Lothian and Tweedale were sent as deputies, to require the Duke of Gordon, in the name of the estates, to quit the castle in four-and-twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The Duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proving ineffectual, the States ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to

**BOOK** summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on  
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 1689. pain of incurring the penalties of high treason ; and he refusing to obey their mandate , was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties , to aid , succour , or correspond with him ; and the castle was blocked up by the troops of the city.

§ XVIII. Next day an express arrived from London , with a letter from King William to the estates ; and, at the same time , another from James was presented by one Crane , an English domestic of the abdicated Queen. William observed that he called a meeting of their estates , at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London , who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation ; and to lay aside animosities and factions , which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms ; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances , a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James. This they resolved to favor with a reading , after the members should have subscribed an act , declaring , that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention , or impeding their procedure , they were a free and lawful meeting of the states ; and would continue undissolved , until they should have settled .

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settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of the late Sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to assert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to pass unpunished. He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

§ XIX. This address produced very little effect in favor of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly outnumbered in this assembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James, foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorized the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarres, and the Viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the Marquis of Athol and the Earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late King; and they hoped a secession of their friends would embarrass the convention, so as to retard the settlement of King William. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol

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**BOOK** deserted their cause; and Mar suffered himself to be  
 1. intercepted in his retreat. The rest of their party  
**1689.** were, by the vigilance of the Duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the Viscount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognised, by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had entreated the King of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the Prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution: they besought his Highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in a readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the Earl of Leven their commander, they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the Earl of Mar governor of Stirling-castle: they received a re-enforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched Lord Ross, with an answer to King William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, and con-

gratulating him upon his success. They thanked him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates. They declared they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the Kingdom. They assured him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desired the continuance of his Majesty's care and protection.

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§ XX. After the departure of Lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight Lords, eight Knights, and as many Burgesses, to prepare the plan of a new settlement: but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late King, headed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deserted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote: "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That King James VII. being a protest papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotism; power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne

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BOOK "was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the Bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously  
1. 1689. against it, as containing a charge of which the King was innocent ; and he proposed that his Majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled , and the House confirmed the vote , which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The Lord President declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, King and Queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their Majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they labored.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April , this act , with the conditions of inheritance , and the instrument , were reported , considered , unanimously approved , and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh , in presence of the Lord President , assisted by the Lord Provost and magistracy of the city , the Duke of Queensberry , the Marquesses of Athol and Douglas , together with a great number of the nobility and gentry . At the same time they published another proclamation , forbidding all persons to acknowledge , obey , assist , or correspond with the late King James ; or , by word , writing , or sermon , to dispute or disown the royal authority of King William and Queen Mary ; or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates , or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government , on pain of incurring the most

severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the Earl of Argyle for the Lords, to Sir James Montgomery for the Knights, and to Sir John Dalrymple for the Boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their Majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their Majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an address, desiring his Majesty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their Majesties by the Earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the King declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replying, that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

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§ XXII. In the mean time, Lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the convention, but refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the

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1689. estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the presbyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government: and for this reason the States resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favor of James, though that Prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature, until he should receive a re-enforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clans of his party, King William appointed the Duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention-parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon Lord Melvil, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns: but the King depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple Lord Stair, President of the College of Justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things withall governments. Though these were rigid presbyterians, the King, to humor the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the Council-Board; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the

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articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the King's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure; and the superiority of any office in the church above that of presbyters. The King, in his instructions to the Lord Commissioner, consented to the regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated; he was contented that the act relating to the King's supremacy should be rescinded, and that the church-government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.

§ XXIII. On the seventeenth day of June Duke Hamilton opened the Scottish parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his Majesty's direction; but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance. The King permitted that the estates should chuse the lords by their own

The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The King empowered the commissioner to chuse eight Bishops, whom he authorized to nominate eight noblemen; these together chuse eight barons; and eight burgesses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, and benefit of the subjects. — *Proceedings of the Scots Parliaments vindicated.*

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1689. suffrages ; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each , for this committee , to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit ; but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act, abolishing prelacy. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration ; namely , that of the King's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill , excluding from any public trust , place , or employment under their Majesties all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign , or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change , or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth ; and the bill passed through all the forms of the House , but proved ineffectual , for want of the royal assent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges , whom the King had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malecontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant , as it was at the restoration ; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it ; providing that if in time to come any such total vacancy should occur , the nomination should be in the King or Queen , or regent for the time being , and the parliament retain the right

of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office, should be ratified, and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the King's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges whom the King had appointed to open their commissions or hold a session until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

§ XXV. The Lord Commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the House till the eighth day of October; a step which, added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed the opposition to a violent degree. They drew up a remonstrance to the King, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled, recapitulating the several instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his Majesty; explaining their reasons for dissenting from the ministry in some articles; beseeching him to consider what they had represented, to give his royal assent

**BOOK I.** to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This address was presented to the King at Hampton-court. William was so touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner; and by these it appeared, that the Duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raised money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expense of the government for some months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish parliament, their church was left without any settled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was abolished, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority, from that very act of supremacy which, according to the claims of rights, ought to have been repealed.

§ XXVI. The session was no sooner adjourned than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh-castle into a regular siege, which was prosecuted with such vigor, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The Duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed,

his intelligence entirely cut off, and despairing of relief from the adherents of his master, desired to capitulate, and obtained very favorable terms for his garrison; but he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from King James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular: he, therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentrated in the Viscount Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert that officer, and join him in the action. Mackay, having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was re-enforced by Ramsey's dragoons, and another regiment of English Infantry; then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochabar. Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependents, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse, rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

§ XXVII. The Viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water: instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision,

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1689. which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it without repining; and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by General Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killycrankie, and he resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them, and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment: the Earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers made himself master of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chieftain the Viscount Dundee, who fell by a random-shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in his army as

prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was particularly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused, and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by Colonel Cannon, who landed the re-enforcement from Ireland: but all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which King William offered to those who should submit within the time specified in his proclamation.

§ XXVIII. After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate Prince and his Queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favorable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seems to have been emasculated by religion: he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown he held conferences with the Jesuits on topics of religion.

**BOOK I.** The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis was mingled with contempt. The Pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades? “There is a pious man (said the Archbishop of Reims ironically) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mafis.” In a word, he subjected himself to the ridicule and railing of the French nation.

§ XXIX. All the hope of re-ascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to the Prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and temporized with William, until James should be able to supply him with re-enforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time with a view to cajole the protestants of Ireland, and amuse King William with hope of his submission, he persuaded the Lord Mountjoy, in whom the protestants chiefly confided, and Baron Rice, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favored with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnel had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his Majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the protestant interest. Although Louis was sincerely disposed to

assist James actually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council: but, Seignuel enjoyed a greater share of personal favor, both with the King and Madame de Maintenon, the favorite concubine. To this nobleman, as secretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service to Lausun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Louis had promised toward his restoration.

§ XXX. Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of February. The French King is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects<sup>7</sup>, and a good number of French

<sup>7</sup> James in this expedition was attended by the Duke of Berwick, and by his brother, Mr. Fitzjames grand-prior, the Duke of Powis, the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the Lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the Lords Drummond, Dungan, Tredraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the Bishops of Chester and Galway, the late Lord-Chief-Justice Herbert; the Marquis d'Estrades: M. de Rosene, marechal de camp; Mamoe, Pusignan, and Lori, Lieutenant-Generals; Pronce, Engineer-General; the Marquis d'Albeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; by the Colonels Porter, Sarsfield,

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**BOOK I.** officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French King also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland ; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting , he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately , “ The best thing “ I can wish you (said he) is that I may never see you “ again.” On the seventh day of March James embarked at Brest , together with the Count D’Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador , and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail , and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time , King William perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel , had published a declaration , requiring the Irish to lay down their arms , and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February , thirty ships of war had been put in commission , and the command of them conferred upon Admiral Herbert ; but the armament was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council , and the King’s attention to the affairs of the continent , that the Admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April , and then with part of his fleet only. James was

Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrell, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon , and Fielding, with about two - and - twenty other officers of inferior rank. received

received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion; for, although the protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. This minister had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his master.

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§ XXXI. In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the Council-Board the Lord Granard, Judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the Lord-Lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Chester, Colonel Darrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation, and requiring all persons to join him against the Prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgment to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity, and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the

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**BOOK I.** **1689.** third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin; and in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a Duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

§ XXXII. The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the Earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the Lord-Lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure, and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable re-enforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time, King James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, Rectof of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join Colonel Crafton,

and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of King James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favorable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to King James, with proposals of a negociation; and Lieutenant-General Hamilton agreed that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St John's Town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships, and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and Major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place, and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended

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**BOOK** in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London to  
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§ XXX.II. After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and Major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to Colonel Cunningham; as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: indeed, their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion, for the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted: they had not one engineer to direct their operations: they had a very small number of horse: the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline: they were destitute of provisions: they were besieged by a King in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April: the batteries were soon opened, and several attacks were made with great impetuosity; but the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had not they been afflicted with a contagious distemper, as well as reduced to extremity by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification to see

some ships which had arrived with supplies from England prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of General Kirke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of King William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favor, when joined by the troops at Inniskilling, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with Colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

§ XXXIV. King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French General Rossene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit

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**BOOK** themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides; and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The Bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to King James of the barbarous intention, entreating his Majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost rigor. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel service: after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labor. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight

of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, That they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negociation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and sacked by the papists, so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy: yet these very people had for the most part obtained protections from King James, to which no respect was paid by his general.

§ XXXV. The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men, and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provision to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men

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**BOOK I.** before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their Majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI. The Inniskillers were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valor and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The Lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the Castle of Aughor, and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their Commander Macarty, commonly called Lord Moncashel.

§ XXXVII. The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of King James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the generosity of the French King, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing

liberty of conscience as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion, and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle, being chosen Speaker of the Commons, moved for an address of thanks to his Majesty; and that the Count D'Avaux should be desired to make their acknowledgments to the Most Christian King, for the generous assistance he had given to their Sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both Houses, a bill was brought in to recognise the King's title, to express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the Prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had spread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in four-and-twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed with this declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition, but that of his being governed in some cases, against his own inclination, by the Count D'Avaux, and the Irish catholics, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both houses were chiefly

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**B O O K** filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those catholics to whom they belonged before the rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement was presented to the King by the Earl of Granard: but, notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal assent; and the protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

§ XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms; which did not own the authority of King James, or corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand, including two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven

Countesses, as many Bishops, eighteen Barons, three-and-thirty Baronets, one-and-fifty Knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription were even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: for, by a clause in the act, the King's pardon was deemed null; unless enrolled before the first day of December. A subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his signal services: they imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the service of the King: the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience: they enacted that the tithes payable by papists should be delivered to priests of that communion: the maintenance of the protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away; and all dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared, immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the King less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and

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humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancor. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered: licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The King's old stores were ransacked: the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his Majesty's occasions: an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandise, provision, and necessaries for the King's service. James, not content with the supply granted by parliament, imposed by his own authority a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This seems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two Houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals; and seems to have been a stretch of prerogative, the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all their brass money, in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the

prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

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§ XI.I. All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the Exchequer for the university of Dublin was cut off: the Vice-provost, Fellows, and scholars were expelled: their furniture, plate, and library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of a promise the King had made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the colleges into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a popish priest was appointed provost: one Maccarty of the same persuasion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic seminary. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the King ordered the profits to be lodged in the Exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the King promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with this order, alledging, that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships

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appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrell, governor of Dublin published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his Majesty's horses within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of this base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expenses of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of King James. Before they sailed from Brest, King William, being informed of their destination, detached Admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the

supposition that the French fleet had sailed from Brest; and that in all probability he should fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May he discovered them at anchor in Bantry-bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They no sooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valor on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked several times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French Admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about, and returned into the bay, content with the honor he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides; and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a re-enforcement: but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth, in very ill humor, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favorite among them; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy\*. King William, in order to appease their

\* Burnet. Reresby. King. Belcarres. De la Fayette. Voltaire.

**B O O K** discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the Admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honor of knighthood on the Captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor.

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§ XLIII. The parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the Lords, to examine the case of the Earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined in thirty thousand pounds, for assaulting Colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. They reported that the Court of King's-bench, in over-ruled the Earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to Lord Russel, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the Commons recommended him to his Majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his son,

who

who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the House of Lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the Commons: but the Peers having inserted some amendments and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the Lords, with the consent of the Commons, recommended him to his Majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to inquire into the cases of the state-prisoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late Lord Chief-Justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the West after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jeffries from the resentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as solicitors in the illegal persecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II. these were now reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either under color of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and persecutions of *Quo Warranto*, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and

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**BOOK** of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of their infamous practices.

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§ XLIV. Nor did the misconduct of the present ministry escape the animadversion of the parliament. The Lords having addressed the King to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the papists, empowered a committee to inquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the Marquises of Caermarthen and Hallifax. They presented an address to the King, desired the minute-book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands: but his Majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the Commons voted, that those persons who had advised the King to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The House resolved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, Whether or not they should address the King against the Marquis of Hallifax? But it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period, Howe, Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and

betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levelled at Caermarthen and Hallifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treason, under the title of Earl of Danby; and the other was charged with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from King James to his partisans being intercepted, and containing some hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole House, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a further supply to his Majesty. In this unexpected motion, he was not seconded by one member. The House, however, having taken the letters into consideration, resolved to draw up an address to the King, desiring him to secure and disarm all papists of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting several persons in rebellion against their Majesties; but it was not finished during this session.

§ XLV. Another bill being prepared in the House of Lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The Lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode, precautions were taken

**BOOK** against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the Upper House. This parliament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to papists; those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The protestant clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint, and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two Houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

## C H A P. II.

- § I. Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland.  
II. The Inniskillers obtain a victory over the Irish.  
III. Schomberg censured for his inactivity. IV. The French worsted at Walcourt. V. Success of the confederates in Germany. The Turcs defeated at Patochin, Nissa, and Widin. VI. Death of Pope Innocent XI. VII. King William becomes unpopular. VIII. A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths. IX. The King grants a commission for reforming church-discipline. X. Meeting of the convocation. XI. Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations. XII. Proceedings in parliament. XIII. The Whigs obstruct the bill of indemnity. XIV. The Commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland. XV. King William irritated against the Whigs. XVI. Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery discovered by Bishop Burnet. XVII. Warm debates in parliament about the corporation-bill. XVIII. The King resolves to finish the Irish war in person. XIX. General Ludlow arrives in England, but is obliged to withdraw. XX. Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland. XXI. The court-interest triumphs over all opposition in that country. XXII. The Tory-interest prevails in the new parliament of England. XXIII. Bill for recognising their Majesties. XXIV. Another violent contest about the bill of abjuration. XXV. King William lands in Ireland. XXVI. King James marches

*to the Boyne. XXVII. William resolves to give him battle. XXVIII. Battle of the Boyne. XXIX. Death and character of Schomberg. XXX. James embarks for France. XXXI. William enters Dublin, and publishes his declaration. XXXII. The French obtain a victory over the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head. XXXIII. Torrington committed prisoner to the Tower. XXXIV. Progress of William in Ireland. XXXV. He invests Limerick; but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England. XXXVI. Cork and Kinsale reduced by the Earl of Marlborough. XXXVII. Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland. XXXVIII. The Duke of Savoy joins the confederacy. XXXIX. Prince Waldeck defeated at Fleurus. XL. The Archduke Joseph elected King of the Romans. Death of the Duke of Lorraine. Progress of the war against the Turks. XLI. Meeting of the parliament. XLII. The Commons comply with all the King's demands. XLIII. Petition of the Tories in the city of London. XLV. Attempt against the Marquis of Caermarthen. XLV. The King's voyage to Holland. XLVI. He assists at a congress. Returns to England.*

**BOOK I.** **§ I.** **T**HOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by the disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in such a manner, that King James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length,

eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons, being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports prepared, the Duke of Schomberg, on whom King William had conferred the chief command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the Commons for the uncommon regard they had paid to his services, and received assurances from the House, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August, he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they resolved to make a stand. The Duke having refreshed his men, marched thither, and invested the place; the siege was carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison which was at Newry. During this siege the Duke was joined by the rest of his army from England: but, he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton: thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which

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**BOOK** Schomberg encamped on a low, damp ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.  
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§ II. His army, consisting chiefly of new-raised men little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was re-enforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart, and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James, having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle: but the Duke, knowing they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines, and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by some French papists, who had insinuated themselves into the protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the Ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the papists of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, and from thence to Holland. While Schomberg

remained in this situation, the Inniskillers made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Lloyd ; and on the twenty - seventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish. They killed seven hundred on the spot, and took O'Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The Duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honorable testimony of his approbation.

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§ III. Meanwhile, the enemy took possession of James, Town and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauver, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate, for want of water and provision. A contagious distemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers ; so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of those who went over with the General remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity, and the King, in repeated letters, desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur; but he did not think proper to run the risque of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blamable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation. At the approach of winter he retired into quarters, in hopes of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded

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with the King of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

§ IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the States-General, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that, in case the King of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line; and that, provided hostilities should be committed against the States-General, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than King William dispatched the Lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created Earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of King James when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The Earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of Prince Waldeck, who had fixed his rendezvous in

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the county of Liege, with a view to act against the French army, commanded by the Mareschal D'Humieres; while the Prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans; to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality, and declare for the allies. Mareschal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States at Walcourt, in the month of August; an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy:

§ V. The French were almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserfwaert, Philipburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spiers to ashes; and demolished Frankendahl, together with several other fortresses. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the Mareschal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the Imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the Elector of Brandenburgh,

**BOOK I.** having reduced Keiferswaert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German Princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Louis having, by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the Emperor and the Ottoman-porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The Prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Paßlarowitz, crossed that river, and marched in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a Seraskier. On the thirteenth day of August he attacked the enemy in their intrenchments near Patochin, and forced their lines, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where the General finding them still more numerous than the Imperialists, resolved to make a stand; and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue, he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the Prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoil of the enemy; and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses and a vast quantity of provision.

Having repos'd his army for a few days in this place, he resumed his march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous post at Widin, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honor they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hesitation; and though the Musulmen fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widin, which being surrendered to the victor, he distributed his troops in winter-quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels.

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§ VI. The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the Duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the Duke de Villa Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Rousillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but, he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French King hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of Pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That Pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis ever since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of Avignon<sup>1</sup>. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by

<sup>1</sup> The franchises were privileges of asylum, annexed not only to the houses of ambassadors at Rome, but even to the whole district in which any ambassador chanced to live. This privilege was become a terrible nuisance, in as much as it afforded

**BOOK** the French faction against the Spanish and Imperial interest. **I.** **1689.** The French Cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large sum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected Pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The Duke de Chaulnes, ambassador from France, immediately signified, in the name of his master, that Avignon should be restored to the patrimony of the church; and Louis renounced the franchises, in a letter written by his own hand to the new Pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the Ambassador and Furstemberg besought him to re-examine the election of the Bishop of Cologn, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed

protection to the most atrocious criminals, who filled the city with rapine and murder. Innocent XI. resolving to remove this evil, published a bull, abolishing the franchises; and almost all the catholic powers of Europe acquiesced in what he had done, upon being duly informed of the grievance. Louis XIV. however, from a spirit of pride and insolence, refused to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He said the King of France was not the imitator, but a pattern and example for other princes. He rejected with disdain the mild representations of the Pope: he sent the Marquis de Lavarden as his ambassador to Rome, with a formidable train, to insult Innocent even in his own city. That nobleman swaggered through the streets of Rome like a bravo, taking all opportunities to affront the Pope, who excommunicated him in revenge. On the other hand, the parliament of Paris appealed from the Pope's bull to a future council. Louis caused the Pope's Nuncio to be put under arrest, took possession of Avignon which belonged to the See of Rome, and set the holy Father at defiance.

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the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the Prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstenberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Louis immediately gratified him with the Abbey of St. Germaine.

§ VII. King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects, among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve, which had all the air of sullen pride: he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants: he spent his time chiefly in the closet, retired from all communication; or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by physicians, as necessary to improve his constitution, which was naturally weak, and by practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill health, co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person: this was increased

**BOOK I.** by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-Court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace: he likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the Earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humor, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he reported to the races at Newmarket: he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members of the University: he afterwards dined with the Lord-Mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers.

**§ VIII.** While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience; and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favor of their late sovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of Non-jurors: but their number bore a very small

small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very little to the honor of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience made no scruple of renouncing the allegiance to King James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other sense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful" when the form was under debate. They alledged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous, and of worse tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which had been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Though this set of temporizers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the papists, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a Prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused, by limiting his favor and preferment to such as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians in that kingdom now tyrannized in their turn. They were headed by the Earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen president of the parliament by the interest of Melvill, and oppressed the episcopalians.

**BOOK I.** in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to King James.  
**1689.** Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent was reported in England; and the Earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended Bishops, circulated these particulars with great assiduity. The oaths being rejected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, in which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the Church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party, as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

§ IX. All the clamor that was raised against the King could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorizing them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alteration of the liturgy and the canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an ecclesiastical court illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat, Bishop of

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Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the Doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were adverse to any alteration of the forms and constitution of the church, in favor of an insolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been satisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They observed, that an attempt to make such alteration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into disesteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgment that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the church, by condescending to make offers which the dissenters were at liberty to refuse; and they suspected some of their colleagues of a design to give up episcopal ordination — a step inconsistent with their honor, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

§ X. The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection; but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to inflame the minds of the people. The two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them. The King himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the comprehension-scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson, clerk of the closet to his Majesty, as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favor of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent

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**BOOK** churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech to the Bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the Lower House, asserted that the liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, “*Nolumus leges Angliae mutari.* We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed.” The Bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren, the dissenters, and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favorable effect. The Lower House seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition. Next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being sealed, and that a prorogation was necessary until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval means were used to mollify their non-compliant tempers, but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the Earl of Nottingham delivered the King’s commission to both Houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his Majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the Church of England, which should always enjoy his favor and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed: He assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honor, peace, and advantage, of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England.

§ XI. The bishops, adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his Majesty, which, being sent to the Lower House for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed; a conference ensued, and, after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the Lower House, far from taking any measures in favor of dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss; yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the christian religion. The President and his party, perceiving the disposition of the House, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation, and the King suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

§ XII. The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the King, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war. He desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject, for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed

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to be held next month at the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimously concur in promoting the honor and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the King, after having consulted both Houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the House of Lords, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new Speaker, Sir Robert Atkins, the Marquis of Halifax, having resigned that office. When they re-assembled, the King referred them to his former speech: then the Commons unanimously resolved to assist his Majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France: for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

§ XIII. During this session the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favor and preferment to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the King's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state-prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The Commons resolved to impeach the Earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high-treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be

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brought in, to declare the estate of the late Lord Chancellor Jeffries forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with such opposition that the measure was dropped: the House however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against popish recusants should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The Lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correspondence with King James, and his partisans, was committed to the Tower: but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sidney was unjustly condemned in the reign of Charles II. because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two Houses concurred in appointing a committee to inquire who were the advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of *Quo Warranto*, and the surrender of charters. This inquiry was levelled at the Marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all these severities. Though no proof appeared, upon which votes of addresses could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration; he, therefore, resigned the privy-zeal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

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§ XIV. The Commons likewise resumed the examination of the miscarriages in Ireland, and desired the King would appoint commissioners, to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom Schomberg understanding that he had been blamed in the House of Commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the King a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The Commons immediately presented an address to his Majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores, should be secured; and that Duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The King gave them to understand, that he had already sent orders to the General for that purpose. Nevertheless, they in another petition requested his Majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under King James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards sent a message to the House, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service, as well as to nominate certain persons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The Commons were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct Instances of mismanagement appeared so

numerous and so flagrant, that they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future intrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, on suspicion of their having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions, and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hambden expressed his surprise that the administration should consist of these very persons whom King James had employed, when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the Prince of Orange, and moved that the King should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the Earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess; but his motion was not seconded, the court-members observing that James did not depute those lords to the Prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his Highness. The House, however, voted an address to the King, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

§ XV. In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the House? and a very warm debate ensued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition that by

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1689. such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the Whigs was their backwardness in promoting the public service, and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said his title was no more than a pageant, and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour, in all probability, first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the insinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the Earl of Portland employed as a spy, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partisan and agent of King James; by which means he supplied the Earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the Earl against the King's best friends, and infusing jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the Revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne

seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled King. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the Duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party: they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a re-enforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the King and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to ensnare and ruin the fast friends of the government, and found means to alienate them so much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished prince. The Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Monmouth, were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose; they seemed to think James was now so well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme, and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance in favor of the roman catholics. Montgomery's brother assured the Bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with King James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to Ireland

**BOOK I.** by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamson, the supposed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders, and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, secured his clothes and portmanteau; but, after a very strict examination, nothing appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety in France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery, the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the Bishop, and, dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry, and the King on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

§ XVII. The Tories still continued to carry on a secret negotiation with the court. They took advantage of the ill-humor subsisting between the King and the Whigs; and promised large supplies of money, provided this parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party, being apprized of their intention, brought a bill into the House of Commons for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations; and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the

Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his Majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable in the House, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The Lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Lord Chief Justice Holt and two other Judges declared their opinion in the affirmative: the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the Abbies were surrendered; and this instance seemed too violent to authorize such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the King, who found himself so perplexed and distracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he resolved to leave the government in the Queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, who pressed him to lay aside his resolution, and even mingled tears in their remonstrances.

§ XVIII. He at length complied with their request, and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This design was far from being agreeable to the parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The wellwishers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field

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**BOOK.** against him in person : both Houses, therefore, began  
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 order to prevent this remonstrance , the King went to  
 the parliament , and formally signified his resolution.  
 After his speech they were prorogued to the second  
 day of April. On the sixth day of February they were  
 dissolved by proclamation , and a new parliament  
 was summoned to meet on the twentieth day of  
 March. During this session , the Commons in an ad-  
 dress to the King, desired that a revenue of fifty thou-  
 sand pounds might be settled upon the Prince and  
 Princess of Denmark , out of the civil list ; and his  
 Majesty gratified them in this particular : yet , the  
 warmth and industry with which the friends of the  
 Princess exerted themselves in promoting the settle-  
 ment, produced a coldness and misunderstanding be-  
 tween the two sisters ; and the subsequent disgrace of  
 the Earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part  
 which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of  
 the bed-chamber , and chief confident to the Princess,  
 whom she strenuously advised to insist upon the settle-  
 ment , rather than depend upon the generosity of  
 the King and Queen.

**S XIX.** About this period, General Ludlow, who at the Restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England , and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man , and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over , and probably would have been employed , had not the

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Commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in the House, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the parricides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the King, desiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending General Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

§ XX. While King William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites and Montgomery's party of discontented presbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the Viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favor of the late King's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to enforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was Colonel Bucan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malecontents: but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone,

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while Major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the Isle of Mull ; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James, despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new-cemented parties were altogether incompatible ; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the Earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged : some individuals retracted , rather than fall with a sinking cause ; and mutual jealousies began to prevail . The leaders of the coalition treated separately with King James ; made inconsistent demands ; reciprocally concealed their negociations : in a word , they distrusted, and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

§ XXI. The Earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin withdrew from their councils , and repaired to England. Montgomery , terrified at their defection , went privately to London , after he had hinted something of the plot to Melvil , and solicited a pass from the Queen , which was refused. Anandale , having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negotiation , threw himself

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himself upon the Queen's mercy, and discovered all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malecontents in England, they remained secure from his evidence ; but he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now resided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the Earl of Nottingham ; and twice put to the torture, which he resolutely bore, without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, soliciting a pardon ; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country, and chose to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This disunion of the conspirators, and discovery of the plot, left the Earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority ; though even this he was fain to secure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic presbyterians, contrary to the intention of King William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money : as well as with a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of King James. All the laws in favor of episcopacy were repealed. Threescore of the presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the Restoration, were still alive ; and these the parliament declared the only sound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their hands ; and they

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**BOOK** were empowered to admit such as they should think proper, to their assistance. A few furious fanatics being thus associated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed.

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§ XXII. While the presbyterian interest thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The King seemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the Lieutenancy of London at the King's accession to the crown; and now a considerable number of the most violent Tories in the city were admitted into the commission by the interest and address of the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were dismissed from their employments: nay, when the parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the Commons chose for their Speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partisan of that faction, who had been created Master of the Rolls by the late King<sup>2</sup>. He was a bold artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary sums for the purposes of corruption. William, finding there was no other way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of

<sup>2</sup> Burnet. Belcarres. Kennet. Tindal. Ralph.

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purchasing votes, and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his speech to the new parliament, he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland. He desired they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present, as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the service of the government might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no color of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government: he recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: he told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the Queen, and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to dispatch the business for which they were assembled, to avoid debates, and expressed his hope that they should soon meet again, to finish what might be now left imperfect.

§ XXIII. The Commons, in compliance with his request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, one million of that sum to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue-bills; but he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term, but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could

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**BOOK.** have for frequent parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted, and both parties seemed to court his Majesty, by advancing money on those funds of credit. The Whigs, however, had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the Upper House, a bill for recognising their Majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and for declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come: but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs lost their majority on the report; nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words, in consequence of a nervous, spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it would preponderate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the Earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the House of Commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made, that it might

be committed for amendment; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of their faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the King's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers, the Solicitor-General, who observed, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force: it was their duty, therefore, to return to King James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament were highly criminal. The Tories were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. Thus the settlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal: but the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interested in the dispute.

§ XXIV. There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure King James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence; while the Whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigor. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions seemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories represented to the King, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation: that those who declared against the bill would grow

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**BOOK.** sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other motion that might be made for the King's service: that, in case of its being carried, his Majesty must fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who were now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with King William, that he sent an intimation to the Commons, desiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs in general were disgusted at this interposition; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of Secretary of State. The King, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the Earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment: but he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his Majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the House of Lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late King and his adherents: but they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might; and the House was so equally divided that neither side was willing to hazard a decision: so that all the fruit of their debates was a prolongation of the session.

§ XXV. An act was prepared for investing the Queen with the administration during the King's absence; another for reversing the judgment on a *Quo Warranto* against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges; and at length, the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended by the King passed both Houses<sup>1</sup>. On the twenty-first day of May, the King closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The Houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; when the parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a further security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorized to raise the militia in case of necessity. All papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode: a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons; Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually

<sup>1</sup> The following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, Marquis of Powis; Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon; Robert, Earl of Sunderland; John, Earl of Melfort; Roger, Earl of Castlemain; Nathaniel, Lord Bishop of Durham; Thomas, Lord Bishop of St. David's; Henry, Lord Dover; Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Edward Hales. Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward Lutwyche, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesly Colonel Townly, Colonel Lundy, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George Lord Jeffries, deceased.

**D O O X** arrested, on suspicion of treasonable practices. On J. the fourth day of June the King set out for Ireland, 1690. attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction: on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the Duke of Schomberg, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Major-General Kirke, and other officers. By this time Colonel Wolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat: Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great importance, together with Balingarry, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having repos'd himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the Duke's head-quarters at Lisburne: then advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general-officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp at Loughbriland, where he found it amount to six-and-thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

§ XXVI. King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no

sooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Luttrell, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, resolved to stand battle. They resolved to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Louis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising-ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by

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**B O O K** him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately, and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to show himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design: but finding the King determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-Bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the King determined, that, early in the morning, Lieutenant-General Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The Duke,

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perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch Generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

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§ XXVIII. At six o'clock in the morning, General Douglas, with young Schomberg, the Earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a re-enforcement. This being arrived, the infantry were led on to the charge through the morass, while Count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon re-enforced his left wing from the centre; and the Count was in his turn obliged to sent for assistance. At this juncture, King William's body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist-high, under a general discharge of artillery.

**BOOK I.** King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without further opposition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by General Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks, to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the Duke of Schomberg passing the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen (said he) those are your persecutors;" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the Duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the Duke; and, instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh

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proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of King James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when King William having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the King in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Levison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers, as soon checked their ardor. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and, returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action General Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken: an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the King, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance? and he replied, "Upon my honor, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William, eying him with a look of disdain,

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repeated “Your honor! your honor!” but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance.

§ XXIX. As King William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the time in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, daughter of Lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of marechal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the Duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he

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was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a cheerful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming, “*A la gloire, mes enfans; à la gloire!* To glory, my lads; to glory!” The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of King James. He had been very graciously received by King William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favor: but, his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the Lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O Neile, and the Marquis of Hocquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to re-assemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and re-enforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William’s personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

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§ XXX. King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that, though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labor for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the Bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to King William, together with a petition, that he would honor the city with his presence.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition.

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opposition. The King, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Ballay-Bregan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the Duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the King encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the Bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favor and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them in the King's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstration of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by King William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him

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§ XXXII. During these transactions, the Queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, Lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English Admiral, re-enforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. The fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head,

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on the thirtieth day of June, at day-break. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valor, sustained considerable damage. At length, the Admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye: an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the captain defended her so vigorously that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate. Six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior

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**BOOK I.** officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames, and, having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were over-whelmed with consternation.

**§ XXXIII.** The government was infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malecontents of the nation; that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the Queen by the Cornish tanners, by the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their Majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The Queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-General, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to

examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tingmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels: then they re-embarked, and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig-partisans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The Queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the Earls of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; Viscount Preston; the Lords Montgomery and Bellasis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her Majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The Earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced

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**BOOK I.** long debates in the Upper House, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the Admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The Earl was acquitted, but the King dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

§ XXXIV. William is said to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English transports, but, likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate King William. No such attempt, however, was made, and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July William detached General Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone, while he himself, having left Trelawny to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchiquin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for King James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resolved to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas, receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on

his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprise, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The King continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At Carlow he detached the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, Major-General Kirke was sent to Waterford, the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the Lord Dover and the Lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the King's mercy and protection.

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§ XXXV. On the first day of August, William being at Capel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests, and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch was circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The King had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for

**BOOK I.** England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated; that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick, in which Monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the Duke of Berwick and Colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the King having called in his detachments, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange would be a vigorous defence of the town which his Majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, Colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the King's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was carried on with vigor, and the place defended with great resolution. A length, the King ordered his troops to make a lodgement in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly assaulted with great fury: but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This

disappointment concurring with the badness of the weather, which became rainy and unwholesome, induced the King to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being sent away, the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. William having constituted the Lord Sidney and Thomas Canningby lords justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with Count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon with Prince George of Denmark, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in King-Road, near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor.

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§ XXXVI. About the latter end of this month the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland, with five thousand English troops, to attack Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to King William. Having landed his soldiers without much opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thousand men, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the Earl a dispute arose about the command; but this was compromised by the interposition of La Mellionere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged; but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigor. The Duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault,

**BOOK** the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the Governor and Colonel Ricaut, the victor found the Earls of Clancarty and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached Brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale, and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honorable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The Earl of Marlborough having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

§ XXXVII. During these transactions, Count de Lauzun, commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over, to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the Duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to M. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles for having deserted the cause before it was desperate: Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, solicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms,

clothes, and ammunition for the Irish army, which he said would continue firm to the interest of King James, if thus supported. Mean while, they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparies; while the troops of King William either enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harassed.

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§ XXXVIII. The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the Emperor and King of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself than Catinat, the French general, entered his territories, at the head of eighteen thousand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with several other places, pursued the Duke to Carignan, surprised Surza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the duchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The Duke finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the Emperor and King of Spain, demanded assistance of the States-General and King William; to this last he sent an ambassador, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the states under Prince Waldeck should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the Duke

**BOOK I.** of Luxembourg in Flanders; while the Elector of Brandenburgh should observe the Marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle: but, before the troops of Brandenburgh could be assembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxembourg.

§ XXXIX. Prince Waldeck understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the Count of Berlo, with a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Fleurus, and slain: and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number: after a very obstinate engagement the allies gave way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution and success. The Duke of Luxembourg owned, with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) "ought always to remember the French horse; and "I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The Prince being re-enforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians,

ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the Elector of Brandenburgh; so that the confederate army amounted to five - and - fifty thousand men, and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois - Seigneur Isaac. They were now superior to Luxembourg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless, Prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his intrenchments, had not he been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the States - General; and, when this restriction was removed, the Elector would not venture a battle.

§ XL. By this time the Emperor's son Joseph was by the electoral college chosen King of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant Duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsey, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French King, against whom he had formally declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the Duke's design. At his death the command of the Imperial army was conferred upon the Elector of Bavaria. This prince, having joined the Elector of Saxony, advanced against the Dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, with a considerable

**BOOK** army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg ;  
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**1690-** but the Duke of Bavaria checked his progress, and he acted on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. The Emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new Visir. In the month of August Count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialists near Cronstadt, in Transylvania; then convoking the states of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their sovereign; but his reign was of short duration. Prince Louis, of Baden, having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Mean while, the Grand Visir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with surprising resolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion. Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown; the ditch was filled up, and so large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialists were in possession of Transylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausinburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: these last were totally dispersed by Prince Louis of Baden;

but Prince Augustus of Hanover, whom he had detached against the Count, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprized of the fate of his allies, and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow, that frequently chokes up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and Prince Louis returned to Vienna.

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§ XLI. King William having published a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the second day of October, both Houses met accordingly, and he opened a session with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expense; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be prosecuted with vigor; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; assured them that the success of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigor and dispatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition; and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumors of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valor which

**BOOK I.** William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the resentment of the nation against the adherents of the late King, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favor of the new government. Both Houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the King and Queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and sagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The Commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expenses, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and settled the funds for that purpose.

§ XLII. They proposed to raise one million by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland: they resolved, that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a clause, empowering the King to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were supposed to have been suggested by the court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the King's favorites: nevertheless, the bill passed the Lower House, and was sent up to the Lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that Lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the King, who not only dismissed

dismissed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the House of Lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the Excise, he told the parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expense of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly passed for granting to their Majesties the duties on goods imported, for five years; and these, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the King observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honor and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships of war<sup>\*</sup>, and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the King's desires. This liberality and dispatch were in a great measure owing to the management of Lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the Treasury, and Sir John Somers, the Solicitor-

\* This supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit: That the surplus of the grants they had made, after the current service was provided for, should be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it should be lawful for their Majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds, out of the said grants, on condition of that sum's being repaid from the revenue.—Ralph,

**BOOK I.** General. The place of secretary of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with Lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

§ XLIII. Notwithstanding the act for reversing the proceedings against the city - charter, the Whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilkington continued Mayor, and Robinson retained the office of Chamberlain. The Tories of the city, presuming upon their late services, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament, for reversing the judgment on the *Quo Warranto*, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old Aldermen elected by commissions under the late King's great seal still acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as Mayor by the common-hall: and, That he and the Aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as Chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the common-council were illegally excluded, and others, duly elected, were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites, to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. In the late panic which overspread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they

had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason, the court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonstrance.

§ XLIV. The Marquis of Caermarthen, Lord President, who was at the head of the Tory-interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the King and Queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved (if possible) to revive his old impeachment. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of Lords was appointed to examine precedents, and inquire whether impeachments continued *in statu quo* from parliament to parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but the Marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in consequence of the following question, “Whether the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached in the former parliament, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, shall be discharged from their bail?” The House resolved in the affirmative, and several lords entered a protest. The Commons having finished a bill for commissioners to take and state the public accounts; and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the House of Lords. There the Earl of Rochester moved, that they should add some of their number to those of the Commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but Rochester himself, being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration.

**BOOK I.** On the fifth day of January, the King put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity; and assured them of his particular favor and protection. Then Lord Chief Baron Atkins signified his Majesty's pleasure, that the two Houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March.

**Ann. 1691.** § XLV. William, having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the fifth day of January; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Auverquerque, and Zuylestein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet, and night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which, the King and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing,

' In this year the English planters repossessed themselves of part of the island of St. Christopher's, from which they had been driven by the French.

the King asked if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break, he landed on the Isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut; then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Maestrandflys. A deputation of the States received him at Hounstadyke: about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-General, the States of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with surprising magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

§ XLVI. At a solemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigor and dispatch. He declared he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the King of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand men. He supplied the Duke of Savoy so liberally, that his

**BOOK** affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled ; and they transacted their affairs with such harmony , that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March , immediately after the congress broke up , the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French King in person , accompanied by the Dauphin , the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men , commanded by the Prince of Bergue : but the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested , than he ordered Prince Waldeck to assemble the army , determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle , near Brussels : but when he went thither , he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages , and other necessaries for the expedition. Mean while , the burghers of Mons seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy , pressed the governor to capitulate , and even threatened to introduce the besiegers : so that he was forced to comply , and obtained very honorable conditions. William , being apprized of this event , returned to the Hague , embarked for England , and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April<sup>1.</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> A few days before his arrival , great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire , through the negligence of a female servant.

## C H A P. III.

§ I. Conspiracy against the government by Lord Preston and others. II. The King fills up the vacant bishoprics. III. Affairs of Scotland. IV. Campaign in Flanders. V. Progress of the French in Piedmont. VI. Election of a new Pope. VII. The Emperor's success against the Turks. VIII. Affairs of Ireland. IX. General Ginckel reduces Athlone. X. Defeats the Irish at Aghrim. XI. Undertakes the siege of Limerick. XII. The French and Irish obtain an honorable capitulation. XIII. Twelve thousand Irish catholics are transported to France. XIV. Meeting of the English parliament. XV. Discontent of the nation. XVI. Transactions in parliament. XVII. Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. XVIII. The English and Dutch fleets worsted by the French in an engagement off Beachy - Head. XIX. The King disengages the presbyterians of Scotland. XX. The Earl of Breadalbane undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders. XXI. Massacre of Glencoe. XXII. Preparations for a descent upon England. XXIII. Declaration of King James. XXIV. Efforts of his Friends in England. XXV. Precautions taken by the Queen for the defence of the nation. XXVI. Admiral Russel puts to sea. XXVII. He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hogue. XXVIII. Troops embarked at St. Helens for a descent upon France. XXIX. The design laid aside. The troops landed at Ostend. XXX.

*The French King takes Namur in sight of King William. XXXI. The allies are defeated at Steenkirk. XXXII. Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory. XXXIII. Conspiracy against the life of King William, hatched by the French ministry. XXXIV. Miscarriage of a design upon Dunkirk. XXXV. The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary. XXXVI. The Duke of Savoy invades Dauphiné. XXXVII. The Duke of Hanover created an elector of the empire.*

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§ I. A Conspiracy against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barking, in Essex, informed the Marquis of Caermarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the thirtieth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the King and council, an order was sent to Captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late Queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible; among the rest, two letters, supposed to be written by Turner, Bishop of Ely, to King James and his Queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French King, to assist King James in reascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent.

from the kingdom : but the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom the chiefs were the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Preston, his brother, Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston, and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compassing the death of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary ; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alledged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact, whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and mere supposition. He was, nevertheless, found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity, and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to General Worden, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable

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<sup>2</sup> Burnet. State - tracts. Burchet. Tindal. Ralph.

<sup>3</sup> To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of King James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned person should be authorized to compile a treatise, showing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the

was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: the Earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country: an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the Queen, who was his first cousin. The Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

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§ II. This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy furnished the King with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions: but, as they declined this expedient, the King resolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the Archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson<sup>1</sup>, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed

performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they had hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons, was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period. — Ralph.

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

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very well satisfied with this exertion of the King's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of resignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation, by which they had been animated in the persecution they suffered under the late government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their present affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The Nonjurors affirmed, that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invasion of their rights; and, that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by scripture was indiscriminate, "the powers that be, are ordained of God—let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloak of conscience.

On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said, it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines, attached themselves solely to possession, however unjustly acquired; that if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognise the last, notwithstanding the allegiance they had so solemnly sworn to his predecessor; like the fawning spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his master's horse, after having murdered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay-deprivation, and with respect to church-government started the same distinctions "*De jure* and *De facto*," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers: their acrimony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of King James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate, who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government: and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of the new settlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interests of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character: inveighed against his measures: they accused him of sacrificing the

**BOOK I.** concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew injurious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes of the last, and of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malecontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate: all sorts of informers were encouraged and caressed: in a proclamation issued against papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make search, and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices which had enabled them to bring ~~their~~ scheme to perfection.

§ III. The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the King dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve King William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partisans in such a manner, and would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted

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without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The King, who was extremely disgusted at the presbyterians, relished the proposal: and young Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths: but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent: a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the enemies of the government; and the Earl of Home, with Sir Peter Fraser and Sir Æneas Macpherson were apprehended and imprisoned.

§ IV. The King having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where General Ginkel exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce: then, leaving the Queen as before at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by Lord Sidney, secretary of state, the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the Duke of Luxembourg having passed the Scheld at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle,

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and gave it up to plunder, in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the Marquis de Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, entrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, King William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time re-enforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the Count de Tilly, with ten thousand men, to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raised the siege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburgh, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the Landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted his invention in marches, countermarches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. In the course of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other: but they were situated in such a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvantage. While the King lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion

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confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery: even while the fusees were burning they disengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill; so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the Duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible share of infamy on the French General, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Court-sur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage, and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at La Busiere, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy, perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde: William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in this post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army, and passed the Meuse at Namur: then the King returned to the Hague, leaving the command to Prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuse, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambrai. Luxembourg, who watched his motions

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with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that his rear was surprised and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire: the Prince continued his route to Cambrai, and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the Count d'Etréa, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant.

§ V. The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The Emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the Duke of Savoy; and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The Elector of Bavaria was nominated to the supreme command of the Imperial forces in that country: the Marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milaneze, acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch: Duke Schomberg, son of that great general who lost his life at the Boyne, lately created Duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William, as King of England and Stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois paid by Great-Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progress in their conquests. Catinat besieged and took Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the Marquis de Feuquieres to invest Coni, a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Cony was besieged; and

La Houette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste, so that he had free admission into the Vercellois, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment: the people were dispirited and clamorous, and their sovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken, and his palace of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments, and Prince Eugene<sup>\*</sup> supported his remonstrance: but this proposal was vehemently opposed by the Marquis de Leganez, who foresaw that, if the Duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by Prince Eugène, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horse: at Magliano he was re-enforced by five thousand militia: Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with

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\* Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who in the sequel rivalled the fame of the greatest warriors of antiquity, was descended on the father's side from the House of Savoy, and on the mother's from the family of Soissons; a branch of the House of Bourbon, his father was Eugene Maurice, of Savoy, Count of Soissons, Colonel of the Switzers, and Governor of Champagne and Brie: His mother was the celebrated Olympia de Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarine. Prince Eugene, finding himself neglected at the court of France, engaged as a soldier of fortune in the service of the Emperor, and soon distinguished himself by his great military talents: he was, moreover, an accomplished gentleman, learned, liberal, mild, and courteous; an unshaken friend; a generous enemy; an invincible captain; a consummate politician.

**B O O K** the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace, Hoguette abandoned the valley of Aoste: Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal; and Catinat retired with his army towards Vitta Nova d'Aste.

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§ VI. The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois, the minister of Louis, so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont had a still greater influence over the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new Pope, in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by Cardinal d'Etréés, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and Imperial interest, and Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected Pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honor of the last Pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French Monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles, to solicit a re-enforcement. The Prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried

on the siege with such vigor, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Mean while the Marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest of Montmélian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honorable conditions.

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§ VII. This summer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the Emperor's commissioners: but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The Imperial army, under the Elector of Saxony, passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French crossing the same river at Philipburgh, reduced the town of Pfartzheim in the marquisate of Baden-Durlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the Emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his general, the Elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favorable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by Prince Louis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialists afterwards undertook the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so dispirited by the defeat by which they had lost the Grand Vizier, that the Emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overshot

**BOOK I.** his success. He was weak, vain, and superstitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, King William, with the rest of the allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate, with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattened. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that the ministry, rather than be at the expense of defending the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to King William, either as Monarch of England, or Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a protestant government; but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the Elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of signalizing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was relished by the court of Spain: the Emperor imparted it to the Elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he was immediately declared Governor of the Low-Countries by the council of state at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign. That affair being discussed, he embarked in the Maese, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

**§ VIII.** Before we explain the proceedings in

parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season the French King had sent a large supply of provision, clothes, and ammunition, for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of Monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a great number of French officers, furnished with commissions from King James, though St. Ruth issued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine vessels, laden with succours of the same nature; otherwise the Irish could not have been so long kept together. Nor, indeed, could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The Lords Justices, in conjunction with General Ginckel, had taken every step their prudence could suggest, to quiet the disturbances of the country, and prevent such violence and rapine, of which the soldiers in King William's army were not entirely innocent. The justices had issued proclamations, denouncing severe penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression: they promised to protect all papists who should live quietly within a certain frontier-line: and Ginckel gave the catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field several skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

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**S IX.** St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and General Ginckel was re-enforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. Thus strengthened, he, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under Colonel Bourke, who when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and supported by the Irish army encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken sword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigor. At length, it was resolved, in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by Captain Sandys and two lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment, and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valor and intrepidity. They

passed twenty a breast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Teteau, and Ptolemache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river, and General Ginckel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success, on this occasion, was created Earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by express, that the English had entered the river, he said, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable; and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having, by drafts from garrisons, augmented his army to five-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

**BOOK I.** § X. Ginckel having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand, and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution, that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honors and estates and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament, that they would not desert their colors, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the Prince of Orange. Ginckel had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy: after having reconnoitred their posture, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed

the river at two fords and a stone-bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field-pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the General determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his centre and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that

**BOOK I.** the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and St. Ruth exclaimed —  
**1691.** “ Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin.” In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigor, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and first turned the tide of battle in favor of the English. Major-General Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill, and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The

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foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of colors, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnacar, and Moor-castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which were accordingly secured. Then Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from Lord Dillon and General D'Uffione, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons;

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1691. and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honors of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for King James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrell had been seized by the French general D'Uffione, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts: Captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished

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before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation, that they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified: all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginkel passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them: and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon.

§ XII. Then the English made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and Colonel Wahop signified their resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The Lords Justices arrived in the camp on the

**BOOK I.** first day of October, and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. **1691.** The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands,

lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their Majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify Colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created Lord Lucan by King James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoy, and carriages by land and water; and General Ginckel engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers,

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and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: That hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: That all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honors of war: That the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: That those who should chuse to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the General should appoint; That all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: That the General should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. — This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckel; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should intrench themselves, till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication.

§ XIII. The protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favor of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, That they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government,

were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favored with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honors of war: they were transported at the government's expense, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honorable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti: the Roman catholic interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority: attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield: but three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the seventh day of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French squadron which had arrived in the bay of Dangle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of King William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; assured them they should still serve under his commission and command;

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**BOOK** and that the King of France had already given orders  
 1. for their being new clothed, and put into quarters  
 1691. of refreshment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, Baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the House of Commons for his great services, after he had been created Earl of Athlone by his Majesty. When the parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the King, in his speech, insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea, early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each House presented an address of congratulation upon his Majesty's safe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the Queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his Majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both Houses of Parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

§ XV. A great number of individuals, who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interest of the nation sacrificed to foreign connexions, and the King's favor so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his English subjects. They observed, that the number of forces he demanded was considerably

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greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger : that , instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burden, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the King absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad ; and the secret friends of the late King did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They renewed their animadversions upon the disagreeable part of his character : they dwelt upon his proud reserve , his full silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the Earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, immediately after the signal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the King's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an ascendancy over the Princess Anne of Denmark , and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malecontents of the whiggish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scrupled not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in parliament : that the King was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predecessors had ever been ; and, that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council , because

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**BOOK I.** they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the Earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, who with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-councillors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority : he proposed severity as one of the best supports of government ; was clear in his understanding , violent in his temper , and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleasure , who possessed the most plausible and winning address ; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs, in the midst of riot and debauchery. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. He enjoyed the office of pay-master in the army of King James ; and now maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the Speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the House , and knew every individual member so exactly , that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the King's title censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless , he now became a proselyte , and was brought into the Treasury.

**§ XVI.** The Commons voted three millions , four hundred and eleven thousand,six hundred and seventy-five pounds for the use of the ensuing year : but the establishment of funds for raising the supplies was retarded , partly by the ill-humor of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs, that diverted

the attention of the Commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the House against the East-India Company, charging them with manifold abuses ; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the Company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute inquiry into the nature of the complaints, the Commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his Majesty, that, according to the said regulations the East- India Company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment: but divers petitions being presented against it, and the Company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the House addressed the King to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said, it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore, he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined : but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length, one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's-Bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the House of Commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the King for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own

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**300 X** lodgings, where he affirmed, that Colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction: but no such persons were found. Then the House declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the Commons, prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace, which he accordingly underwent.

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§ XVII. A bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason having been laid aside by the Lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the, carpet and passed the Lower House. The design of this bill was to secure the subject from the rigors to which he had been exposed in the late reigns. It provided, That the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the pannel, ten days before his trial; and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The Lords, in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, That upon the trial of any peer or peers, for treason or misprision of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The Commons rejected this amendment; and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but

animosity, the bill was dropped; for the Commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expense of purchasing a new privilege to the Lords; and without this advantage, the peers would not contribute to their relief.

§ XVIII. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Lower House, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by a Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy: but, as the French King had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Fourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer, either in the channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular, secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blew about the time of the equinox. He, therefore, sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and

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1691. obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: the Coronation, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-head: the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished: two others ran ashore: but were got off with little damage: but the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the Admiral, and the Commons subjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution, out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the House took into consideration some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by King James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an insurrection in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England: Legge Lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them. Crew absconded, but Lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined touching some ciphers which they could not explain, and, pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts<sup>1</sup> passed relating to domestic regulations, the King, on the

<sup>1</sup> The laws enacted in this session were these: an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other

twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstration of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two Houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of May, by proclamation.

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§ XIX. The King had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the presbyterians of Scotland, and was so displeased, with the

oaths—an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment—an act against deer-stealing—an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods—an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices—an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor—an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle—and an act for ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

In the course of this session, Dr. Welwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the House of Commons, for having reflected upon that House in a weekly paper entitled *Mercurius Reformatus*; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the King appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period, Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the House of Commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy-seal was committed to the Earl of Pembroke: Lord Viscount Sidney was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Sommers appointed Attorney-General; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the King as a divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

**BOOK** I. **1691.** conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnston, who had been sent envoy to the elector of Brandenburgh, was recalled, and with the Master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland; Melvil, who had declined in his importance, was made Lord Privy-Seal of that kingdom: Tweedale was constituted Lord Chancellor: Crawfurd retained the office of president of the council; and Lothian was appointed high commissioner to the general assembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church-government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to enflame the animosity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the King's favor, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn: the presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the royal indulgence. They insisted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever four, furly, and implacable: they refused to concur with the prelatists, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his Majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The King resented this measure, as an

insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who in their turn began to lose all respect for his person and government.

§ XX. As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the Earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the Earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them, made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was, therefore, obliged to refund the sum he had received; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation, was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money, which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the Earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit, and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the

**B O O K** present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by Colonel Hill, governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

§ XXI. Breadalbane had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the King, whose chief virtue was not

humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his Majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from Major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends, and promised, upon his honor, that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity: nevertheless, the two young men went

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forth privately, to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cool blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hastened back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded: they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and, being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The Laird of Auchintriukken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes; so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having

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having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death, from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste, before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of King William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders: but at the same time, excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expatriate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The King, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the Master of Stair from his employment of secretary<sup>7</sup>: he

<sup>7</sup> Burnet. Story. Kennet. Life of King William. Nav. Hist. Ralph. Voltaire.

**BOOK I.** likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character, and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

**ANNO 1692.** § XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William, having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the States-General with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French King resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the spring; and that Colonel Parker and other

officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the King's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late King. He assured them, that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy; he, therefore, exhorted them to be speedy and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of King William; but, before they could execute their design, his Majesty set sail for Holland.

§ XXIII. Mean while James addressed a letter to several lords, who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and distinction, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labor. He took notice of the injury his family and honor had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son, and as Providence had now favored him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the Queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them, in the name of his brother the French King, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labor\*.

\* The letter was directed not only for privy-counsellors,

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This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importuning that the King of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to untie the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful King and their ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be sent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so infatuated as to concur with the unnatural design of the Prince of Orange, he had chosen to rely upon the fidelity of his English army, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his Most Christian Majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects who had been misled, and endeavoured to open their eyes, with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government, that when he saw himself deserted by but also to the Duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the Marchioness of Halifax, the Countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the Ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, those of Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford, Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Ashhurst and Sir Richard Leverett the Sheriff, and, lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

his army; betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favorites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own Palace by a guard of insolent foreigners, he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France; that his retreat from the malice and cruel designs of the usurper had been construed into an abdication, and the whole constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a set of men illegally assembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and, from the losses and enormous expense of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease; that the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to suffer severely by the tyranny they had raised; that even, though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title would survive in his issue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only solicited but commanded his good subjects to join him, according to their duty, and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. He promised pardon, and even rewards, to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure in his first parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain persons<sup>\*</sup> whom

\* Those excepted were the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the Lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire,

**BOOK I.** he now enumerated. He declared that all soldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and enlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions: he signified his resolution to use his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favor of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition; and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the divine will, declaring, that all who should reject his

Colchester, Cornbury Dunblain, and Churchill; the Bishops of London and St. Asaph, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet; Francis Russel, Richard Levison, John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizen of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fishermen, and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at Feversham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Ashton, Cross, or any others who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies, or such as had betrayed his councils during his late absence from England.

offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, CHAP.  
would be answerable to Almighty God for all the. III.  
blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in  
which these kingdoms might be involved by their  
desperate and unreasonable opposition.

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§ XXIV. While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, Colonel Parker with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and in the bishopric of Durham; at the same time, Fountaine and Holeman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Lloyd with an express to Lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over Rear-Admiral Carter to the interest of his Majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French King, that the Count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Louis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon-squadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Etréées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland, by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

§ XXV. The ministry of England was informed

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of all these particulars, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by Admiral Carter, who gave the Queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached General Ptolemache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The Queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both Houses of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The Earls of Scarsdale, Lichfield, and Newburgh; the Lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the search. The Earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower: Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in Newgate. The Bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the Lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured: the Earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and

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Sir Andrew Forrester were discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The train-bands of London and Westminster were armed by the Queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person: Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy.

§ XXVI. On the eleventh day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the Queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her Majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the Queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being re-enforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemande, Callemburg, and Vander-goes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the Count the Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three

**BOOK I.** 1692. Ships of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprized of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by two several vessels: but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

§ XXVII. Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Rising-Sun, which carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which Admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the west-ward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's foretop-mast

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came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The Royal-Sun, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French King, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians allege, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered from their consternation. They say his affection to the service was in a good measure

**BOOK I.** 1692. cooled by the disgrace of his friend, the Earl of Marlborough: that he hated the Earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the letter, rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plied from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships: in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

§ XXVIII. Russel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch Admiral Callemburg, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The Queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She

caused medals to be struck in honor of the action; and the bodies of Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort, and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the Admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports: but, in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

§ XXIX. The Queen immediately dispatched the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the Admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was, therefore, laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamor was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained, that they were plundered

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and abused : that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions : that, by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds , their taxes were perpetuated : that their burdens daily increased : that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connexions , of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner , as their trade had suffered grievously by the French privateers , which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the Admiralty , which could not spare particular convoys , while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French King having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament , withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy ; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's , where his Queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter , who was born in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris , the Keeper of the Seals , and other persons of distinction .

§ XXX. Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders , with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic emperor , attended by his women and parasites , his band of music , his dancers , his opera , and in a word , by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army , which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men , he undertook the siege of Namur , which he invested on both sides of the Sambre , with about one half of his army , while the other covered the

siege, under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The Prince de Barbastre commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that King William would make strong efforts for its relief: so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attack with such vigor, that in seven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Brandenburg and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that the King of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault; on the twentieth of

**BOOK I.** May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the Prince of Barbazon incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

§ XXXI. Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bussiere, and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The King of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honor, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkerke and Eng-hien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose: but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembecq, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoux, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing, that he need not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended the next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-fourth

fourth day of July, the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The Prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry : he was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the Prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity, that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg, trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised ; and it required the full exertion of his superior talents, to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a severe indisposition under which he then labored ; he rallied his broken battalions : he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The Duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household-troops, and fell with great fury upon the English who were very ill supported by Count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the allies. The Prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemies batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines : but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by

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numbers, he sent an aide-de-camp twice, to demand succours from Solmes, who derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." At length, when the King sent an express order, commanding him to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this re-enforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, the same number wounded or taken, a great many colors and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

§ XXXII. The French, however, reaped no solid advantage from this victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the Prince of Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefonds, Tilladet, and Fernaccon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and, notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by

dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes adopted the name of Steenkerke: every individual who had been personally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

§ XXXIII. The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against King William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son, the Marquis de Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office of secretary, found, among his papers, the draught of a scheme for this purpose, and immediately revived the design, by means of the Chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the service. He and Colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate King William. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged: the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of King James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection; but

**BOOK** that unfortunate monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to seize the person of the Prince of Orange. Dumont actually enlisted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the King of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg, to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont, after the blow should be struck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Barbesieux. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to Monsieur Chanlais, quarter master-general of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward, and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for this assassin still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland, on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the design to the Duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars, without enduring the

torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

§ XXXIV. About this period the Duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; and reinforced by a large detachment from the King's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Ptolemae. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and M. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for the investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprise was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by Brigadier Ramfay, were strengthened with new works, and secured by strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops returning to Ostend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill humor of the British nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have passed the Scheld higher up, and not only laid the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September King William left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his

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**BOOK I.** house at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Caure. On the sixteenth day of October, the King receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had invested Char'eroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly reassembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with design to raise the siege, and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. He then returned to Holland, leaving the command with the Elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The Elector having re-enforced the place, and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuze and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

§ XXXV. The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Fberemburgh, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Fidelsheim, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tal'ard having invested Rhinefeld, the Landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist, and retreat with considerable damage. The Elector of Saxony had engaged to bring

an army into the field : but he complained that the C H A P.  
Emperor left the burden of the war with France III.  
upon the princes, and converted his chief power and  
attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy  
and misunderstanding ensued : Schœning, the Saxon  
general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dabritz in Bo-  
hemia, was seized by the Emperor's order, on suspi-  
cion of having maintained a private correspondence  
with the enemy , and very warm expostulations on  
this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and  
Dresden. Schœning was detained two years in cus-  
tody ; and at length released , on condition that he  
should never be employed again in the empire. The  
war in Hungary produced no event of importance.  
The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by  
factions , and the seraglio threatened with tumults.  
The people were tired of maintaining an unsucces-  
ful war : the Vizier was deposed ; and, in the midst of  
this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which  
had been blocked up by the Imperialists during the  
whole winter , surrendered on capitulation. Lord  
Paget, the English ambassador at Vienna, was sent to  
Constantinople, with powers to mediate a peace : but  
the terms offered by the Emperor were rejected at the  
Porte : the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and  
the season was spent in a fruitless negociation.

§ XXXVI. The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was  
favorable for the allies : but the court of France  
had brought the Pope to an accommodation , and  
began to tamper with the Duke of Savoy. M. Chan-  
lais was sent to Turin, with advantageous proposals,  
which, however, the Duke would not accept, because

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**BOOK I.** **1692.** he thought himself entitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the Duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation: he afterwards laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here Duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of King William, inviting the people to join his standard, assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendor, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and promised to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the Kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence, and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, where overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite

defenceless: but this was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissension which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the Duke of Savoy, who was seized with the small-pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, to his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated<sup>10</sup>. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

§ XXXVII. The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favor of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connexions with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the Emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the King of England, whom he

<sup>10</sup> At this period Queen Mary, understanding that the protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many schoolmasters, in the vallies of Piedmont.

**BOOK I.** durst not disoblige. Leopold was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation, that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He, therefore, employed his emissaries to thwart the Duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed him from motives of jealousy, and the French King used all his artifices and influence, to prevent the elevation of the House of Hanover. When the Duke had surmounted all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The Emperor suggested that another popish electorate should be created to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Austria should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the Emperor with a double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negociation, the Duke of Hanover, on the nine-teenth Day of December, was honored with the investiture, as elector of Brunswick; created great-marshal of the empire, and did homage to the Emperor: nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors".

" In the beginning of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almost totally ruined by an earthquake: the place was so suddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

## CHAP. IV.

§ I. *False information against the Earl of Marlborough, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.* II. *Sources of national discontent.* III. *Dissension between the Queen and the Princess Anne of Denmark.* IV. *The House of Lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members.* V. *The Commons present addresses to the King and Queen.* VI. *They acquit Admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his Majesty.* VII. *They comply with all the demands of the ministry.* VIII. *The Lords present an address of advice to the King.* IX. *Dispute between the Lords and Commons concerning Admiral Russel.* X. *The Commons address the King. They establish the land-tax and other impositions.* XI. *Burnet's Pastoral letter burned by the hangman.* XII. *Proceedings of the Lower House against the practice of kidnapping men for the service.* XIII. *The two Houses address the King on the grievances of Ireland.* XIV. *An account of the place-bill, and that for triennial parliaments.* XV. *The Commons petition his Majesty that he would dissolve the East-India company.* XVI. *Trial of Lord Mohun for murder. Alterations in the ministry.* XVII. *The King repairs to the continent, and assembles the confederate army in Flanders.* XVIII. *The French reduce Huy.* XIX. *Luxembourg resolves to attack the allies.* XX. *Who are defeated at Landen.* XXI. *Charleroy is besieged and taken by the enemy.* XXII. *Campaign on the Rhine. The Duke of Savoy*

*is defeated by Catinat in the plain of Marsaglia.*  
**XXIII.** *Transactions in Hungary and Catalonia.*  
**XXIV.** *Naval affairs.* **XXV.** *A fleet of merchant-ships, under convoy of Sir George Rook, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons.*  
**XXVI.** *Wheeler's expedition to the West-Indies.*  
**XXVII.** *Benbow bombards St. Maloes.* **XXVIII.** *The French King has recourse to the mediation of Denmark.* **XXIX.** *Severity of the government against the Jacobites.* **XXX.** *Complaisance of the Scottish parliament.* **XXXI.** *The King returns to England, makes some change in the ministry, and opens the session of parliament.* **XXXII.** *Both Houses inquire into the miscarriages by sea.* **XXXIII.** *The Commons grant a vast sum for the services of the ensuing year.* **XXXIV.** *The King rejects the bill against free and impartial proceedings in parliament; and the Lower House remonstrates on this subject.* **XXXV.** *Establishment of the Bank of England.* **XXXVI.** *The East-India company obtain a new charter.* **XXXVII.** *Bill for a general naturalization dropped.* **XXXVIII.** *Sir Francis Wheeler perishes in a storm.* **XXXIX.** *The English attempt to make a descent in Camaret bay, but are repulsed with loss.* **XL.** *They bombard Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais.* **XLI.** *Admiral Russel sails for the Mediterranean, relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadiz.* **XLII.** *Campaign in Flanders.* **XLIII.** *The allies reduce Huy.* **XLIV.** *The Prince of Baden passes the Rhine, but is obliged to repass that river.* *Operations in Hungary.* **XLV.** *Progress of the French in Catalonia.* *State of the war in Piedmont.*

**XLVI.** *The King returns to England. The parliament meets. The bill for triennial parliaments receives the royal assent.* **XLVII.** *Death of Archbishop Tillotson and of Queen Mary.* **XLVIII.** *Reconciliation between the King and the Princess of Denmark.*

§ I. WHILE King William seemed wholly engrossed by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissension, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profanity. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a set of malecontents, whose number daily increased. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burdens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their sanguine expectations, that the Queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by issuing out a proclamation, offering a reward to such as would discover seditious libellers. The Earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the scheme of an association in favor of King James, to which he affixed the names of the Earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the Bishop's house at Bromley in Kent, where it

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**BOOK I.** was found by the King's messengers, who secured the prelate in consequence of Young's information.  
**1692.** But he vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the whole council, and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The Bishop obtained his release immediately, and the Earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of King's-Bench.

§ II. So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest suspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas Corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connexions with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonstrated the mischiefs that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their Majesties possessed the

throne; that the structure of parliaments was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed entirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the subsequent act on that subject passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by pressing transport-ships into the service, without settling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burdensome and useless; the flagrant partiality in favor of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessaries, while the English labored under the severest prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, foresight, and intelligence, and inveighed against their ignorance, insolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a design of reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time, indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which many concurring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented Revolutioners: these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures

**BOOK I.** and principles of each other ; so that patriotism was laughed out of doors , as an hypocritical pretence. **1692.** This contention established a belief , that every man consulted his own private interest at the expense of the public : a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people , from the candidate to the lowest borough - elector . The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expenses of government , threw large premiums and sums of money into the hands of low , scordid usurers , brokers , and jobbers , who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied - interest . Intoxicated by this flow of wealth , they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors ; but , being destitute of sentiment and taste , to conduct them in their new career , they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagancies . They laid aside all decorum ; became lewd , insolent , intemperate , and riotous . Their example was caught by the vulgar . All principle , and even decency , was gradually banished ; talent lay uncultivated , and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy .

**§ III.** King William having ascertained the winter-quarters of the army , and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the States - General , and the ministers of the allies , set sail for England on the fifteenth day of October ; on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth , was met by the Queen at Newhall , and passed through the city of London to Kensington ,

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Kensington, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The lutestring company was established by patent, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November. The House of Lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissension between the Queen and her sister the Princess of Denmark, which last underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honors which had been paid to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided, and even by the ministers of the church, where she attended at divine service, were discontinued, by the express order of his Majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the King, about an independent settlement; and these were now re-inforced by all the friends of the Earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for they resented the disgrace and confinement of that lord, and thought it their duty to support the Princess Anne under a persecution incurred by an attachment to his countess. The Earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the King: the Marquis of Halifax befriended him, from opposition to the ministry: the Earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the

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same cause from principle: the same pretence was used by the Earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

§ IV. The King, in his speech to parliament, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea, condoled them on the bad success of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burdens, which, he said, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France: declared he had no aim but to make his subjects a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The Lords, after an adjournment of three days, began, with great warmth, to assert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the Earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-Bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the House ordered Lord Lucas, Constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of

commitment, and the clerk of the King's-Bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court-solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time, the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined, touching the evidence against the committed lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole house, in which it was resolved, and declared as the sense of that assembly, that in pursuance of the Habeas-Corpus act, it was the duty of the judges and gaol-delivery to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, session, or general gaol-delivery. They likewise resolved it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned lords should be set at liberty. The contest became so warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice. The House adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month, and

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at its next meeting was given to understand, that the King had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, That the House being informed of his Majesty's having given directions for discharging the lords under bail in the King's-Bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the peers having been thus allayed, they proceeded to take his Majesty's speech into consideration.

§ V. The Commons having voted an address of thanks, and another, praying that his Majesty's foreign alliances should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. They passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded for an inquiry, Why that victory had not been pursued? Why the descent had not been made? And why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruisers? The Admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the Lords of the Admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the Admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers: and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of Ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. They then presented addresses to the King and Queen, acknowledging the favor of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and secret enemies; and assuring him they would, according to his Majesty's desire in his most gracious speech, be always ready to advise and assist

him in the support of his government. The Queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his Majesty's absence: they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction; as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

§ VI. After this formal compliment, the House, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to assist his Majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given: then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals, and particularly reflected upon the insolence of Count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkerke. After some warm altercation, the House resolved one article of their advice should be, That his Majesty would be pleased to fill up the vacancies that should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions, and that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the House should advise his Majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet-

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1622. councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy-council was jostled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the ministry : they observed, that he who opposed the establishment could not be expected to support it with zeal. The Earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name, and the House resolved that his Majesty should be advised to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late King, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the Commons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the House, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The Earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the House, espoused his cause with great vigor, and even recriminated upon Russel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The House divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next sitting of the committee. Sir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting money. They resolved that the House should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into consideration. Sir

Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the Speaker resumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was dissolved. The House, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its sitting; but, before it could resume its deliberations, Admiral Russel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purposes were defeated.

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§ VII. The court-agents had by this time interposed, and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The Commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed that the allies should be assisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as auxiliary, not as principal, and pay no more than what the people would chearfully contribute to the general expense. These reflections, however,

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**BOOK I.** produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Ministerial influences had surmounted all opposition. The House voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile complaisance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two thirds of the expense, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the King to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were so much altered, that, instead, of prosecuting their resentment against foreign generals, they assented to a motion that the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Major-generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-General, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expenses attending the war upon the continent, including subsidies to the Electors of Saxony and Hanover.

§ VIII. The House of Lords, mean while, was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough-faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed, it was the province of their House to advise the sovereign: like the Commons, they insisted upon the King's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved that the task of digesting the articles

of advice should be undertaken by a joint committee of both Houses: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the House agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his Majesty, That the commanding officer of the British forces be an Englishman: That English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies, who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English general: That the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied: That such officers as were guilty of this practice should be cashiered and punished; and, lastly, That no foreigners should sit at the board of Ordnance. This address was presented to the King, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

§ IX. Then the Lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to screen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the Admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage

**BOOK** of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The House directed the Earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the Commons, at a conference by the Lord President, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the Commons, as they concerned some members of that House, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the Commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the House, That they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Russel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, That Admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The Lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both Houses. The Earl of Rochester told the Commons, he was commanded by the House of Lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceeding of the Lower House, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to Colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the Commons, and make a faithful report

of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

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§ X. The Lower House seemed to be as much exasperated against the Earl of Nottingham as the Lords were incensed at Russel. A motion was made that his Majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of Admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was overruled, they voted an address to the King, praying, that, for the future, all orders for the engagement of the fleet might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the Lower-House. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all officers and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the King to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per-cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the Exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the Exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar for five years: and those on East-India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of

**B O O K** eight per-cent. on the capital stock of the East-India company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds ; of one per-cent. on the African ; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's-Bay company ; and they empowered his Majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigor<sup>1</sup>.

§ XI. The money-bills were retarded in the Upper-House, by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malecontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax-bill, importing, that the Lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the Commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the Commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the House, that, by yielding to this claim of the Commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the Lords relinquished their clause,

<sup>1</sup> The French King, hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, " My little cousin the Prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle — but, no matter, the last Louis'd or must carry it."

declaring, at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the House of Commons against a pamphlet, entitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, as containing assertions of dangerous consequence to their Majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined, they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the hangman; and, that the King should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of Bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first asserted. The Lords, in order to manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an assertion was highly injurious to their Majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenser, was brought to the bar of the House, and discharged upon his own petition after having been reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the King, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the House that the delinquents

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**BOOK I.** should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his Majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their inquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigor on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed were discharged by order of the House; and Captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the Serjeant before the Lord Chief Justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

§ XIII. Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the House, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the King. The Lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: That protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick: so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: That the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by parliament: That a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the ancient privileges and charter: That several persons accused of murder

had been executed without proof : and one Sweetman, the most guilty , discharged without prosecution. The Commons spoke more freely in their address: they roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army ; by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion against his Majesty ; by granting protections to Irish Roman catholics , whereby the course of the law was stopped : by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick ; by letting the forfeited estates at under-value , to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenue ; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estates, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom ; and , finally , by making additions to the articles of Limerick , after the capitulation was signed , and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his Majesty to redress these abuses , which had greatly encouraged the papists , and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The King graciously received both addresses , and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either House of parliament : but no material step was taken against the Lords Sidney , Athlone , and Coningsby , who appeared to have engrossed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown ; and even Commissioner Culliford , who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

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§ XIV. The old Whig-principle was not yet wholly expelled from the Lower-House. The undue influence of the court was exerted, in such an open, scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the Commons. In the midst of all their condescension, Sir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament. It was intended to disable all members of parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had insinuated themselves into the House in such numbers, that this was commonly called the officers parliament. The bill passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, by whom it was read a second time, and committed: but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The Earl of Mulgrave again distinguished himself by his elocution, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and, among those who entered a protest in the journals of the House, when the majority rejected the bill, was Prince George of Denmark, Duke of Cumberland. The court had not recollect ed themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the Earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at the expiration of three years, the crown should not order the Writs to be issued, the Lord Chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, should issue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act, under severe

severe penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the present parliament, which had already sat three sessions and began to be formidable to the people, from its concessions to the ministry. The benefits that would accrue to the constitution from the establishment of triennial parliaments were very well understood, as these points had been frequently discussed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the freeholders proud and insolent, encourage faction among the electors, and entail a continual expense upon the member, as he would find himself obliged, during the whole time of his sitting, to behave like a candidate, conscious how soon the time of election would revolve. In spite of the ministerial interest in the Upper-House, the bill passed, and contained a proviso, that the present parliament should not continue any longer than the month of January next ensuing. The court renewed its efforts against it in the House of Commons, where, nevertheless, it was carried, with some alterations, which the Lords approved. But all these endeavours were frustrated by the prerogative of the King, who, by refusing his assent, prevented its being enacted into a law.

§ XV. It was at the instigation of the ministry, that the Commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the liberty of the press, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the Lower-House without difficulty, but met with warm

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**1693.** **sook** opposition in the House of Lords, a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and perhaps, ignorant licenser, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preservation of their Majesties sacred persons and government: but this too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. The East - India company narrowly escaped dissolution. Petitions and counter - petitions were delivered into the House of Commons: the pretensions on both sides were carefully examined: a committee of the whole House resolved, that there should be a new subscription of a joint-stock, not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a speedy issue: but the company had recourse to the same expedients, which had lately proved so successful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most warm in detecting their abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish. Not but that the House presented an address to his Majesty, praying that he would dissolve the company upon three years warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would consider their address; and they did not further urge their remonstrance. The bill for ascertaining the commissions and salaries of the judges, to which the King had refused the royal assent

in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they suffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March, the King put an end to the session, after having thanked the parliament for so great testimonies of their affection, and promised the supplies should not be misapplied. He observed, that the posture of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom: he assured them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation<sup>2</sup>.

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§ XVI. During the course of this session, Lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in

<sup>2</sup> The other laws made in this session were these that follow: — An act for preventing suits against such as had acted for their Majesties service in defence of this kingdom — An act for raising the militia in the year 1693 — An act authorizing the judges to empower such persons, other than common attorneys and solicitors, as they should think fit, to take special bail, except in London, Westminster, and ten miles round — An Act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen — An Act for preventing clandestine marriages — An Act for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade — An Act to prevent malicious informations in the court of King's Bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in that court — An Act for the better discovery of judgments in the courts of law — An Act for delivering declarations to prisoners for debt — An Act for regulating proceedings in the Crown-office — An Act for the more easy discovery and conviction of such as should destroy the game of this kingdom — And an Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers.

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**BOOK I.** **1692.** Westminster-hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montford, a celebrated comedian, the Marquis of Caermarthen acting as lord-steward upon this occasion. The judges having been consulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgment *seriatim*, Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The King, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the Whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made some alterations at this period, that favored of the same policy. The great-seal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was bestowed upon Sir John Somers, who was well skilled in the law, and in many other branches of polite and useful literature. He possessed a remarkable talent for business, in which he exerted great patience and assiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable: a Whig in principles, yet moderate, pacific, and conciliating. Of the same temper was Sir John Trenchard, now appointed secretary of state. He had been concerned with the Duke of Monmouth, and escaped to the continent, where he lived some years; was calm, sedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and considered as a leading man in his party. These two are said to have been promoted at the recommendation of the Earl of Sunderland, who had by this time insinuated himself into the King's favor and confidence; though his success confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old master. The leaders of the opposition, were Sir Edward Seymour, again become a malecontent, and Sir Christopher Musgrave a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant Tory from principle, had refused to con-

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eur with all the designs of the late King. He was a person of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the ministry, which he opposed with great violence: yet on some critical occasions, his patriotism gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up some important points, in consideration of large sums which he received from the court in secret<sup>1</sup>. Others declared war against the administration, because they thought their own talents were not sufficiently considered. Of these, the chief were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The first was a lawyer of good capacity, extensive learning, and virtuous principles; but peevish, obstinate, and morose. He entertained a very despicable opinion of the court; and this he propagated with equal assiduity and success. Harley possessed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politics. He knew the forms of parliament, had a peculiar dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cherished the most aspiring ambition. Admiral Russel was created treasurer of the household; but the command of the fleet was vested in the hands of Kiligrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rook was declared vice-admiral of the red, and John Lord Berkeley, of the blue division; their rear-admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

§ XVII. The King having visited the fleet and fortifications at Portsmouth, given instructions for annoying the enemy by sea, and left the administration

<sup>1</sup> Burnet. Hist. of K. W. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Sloane's Nar. Feuquieres. Voltaire. Ralph. Tindal. State-tracts.

**BOOK** in the hands of the Queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravesend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the confederates were forthwith ordered to assemble: but while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French King actually took the field, attended by Madame de Maintenon, and all the court-ladies. His design was supposed to be upon some town in Brabant: his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every sort of military operation. King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke near Louvain, a situation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed. Understanding that the French emissaries had sown the seeds of dissension between the Bishop and chapter of Liege, he sent the Duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert measures for the further security of the place. He re-enforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the Elector Palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewise threw re-enforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himself resolved to remain on the defensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Louis having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and seen his designs upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the Dauphin, who commanded in that quarter; then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands

to the Duke de Luxembourg, he returned with his court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Mildert ; and King William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions , and eight - and - twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently surprised by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy ; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Liege and Maestricht, took post at Huy , under the command of the Count de Tilly, so as to straiten the French in their quarters. These, however, were dislodged by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the Count to pass the Jaar with precipitation , leaving behind three squadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was balanced by the success of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry , and twenty squadrons of horse , forced the French lines between the Scheld and the Lys ; and laid the whole country as far as Lisle under contribution. On that very day , which was the eighteenth of July , Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the siege, and secured himself from the allies by lines of contravallation. Before their batteries began to play , the town capitulated. On the twenty-third-day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the castles were surrendered; the governor remained a prisoner ; and his men were conducted to Liege. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town : but the King being apprized of its fate, detached ten battalions to re-

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3000 enforce the garrison of Liege, and next day returned to Neer-Hespen.

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§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Liege, as if he had intended to besiege the place : and encamped at Hellechein, about seven leagues from the confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made from their army, he resolved to attack them in their camp, or at least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July, he began his march in four columns, and passed the Jaar near its source, with an army superior to the allies by five - and - thirty thousand men. The King of England, at first, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the design upon Liege : but receiving intelligence that their whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he resolved to keep his ground ; and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers advised him to repass the Geete : but he chose to risque a battle, rather than expose the rear of his army in repassing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geete, covered with hedges, hollow-ways, and a small rivulet : the left reached to Neer-Landen ; and these two villages were joined by a slight intrenchment, which the King ordered to be thrown up in the evening. Brigadier Ramsey, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monro, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line some hedges and hollow-ways, on the farther side of the village of Lare. Six battalions of Brandenburgh were posted to the left of this village;

and General Dumont, with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the cavalry. Neer-Landen on the left was secured by six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the intrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this rivulet.

§ XX. The King having visited all the posts on horseback, and given the necessary orders, reposèd himself about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning sent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sun-rising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themselves masters of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. The allies still kept their ground; and the Duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle Brigadier Churchill. Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the confederates at Neer-Landen; and after a very obstinate dispute, were obliged to give way, though they still kept possession of the avenues. The Prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroy marching this way with a body of horse, was encountered and repulsed by the

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Count d'Arco, general of the Bavarian cuirassiers; and the Duke de Chartres narrowly escaped being taken. Mean while, Luxembourg, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Marlin, and the Marechal de Joyeuse, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with such impetuosity as surmounted all resistance. The camp of the confederates was immediately filled with French troops: the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden were taken, after a long and desperate dispute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horse being broken, the King in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry; and for some time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry was rallied, and stood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were scarce able to sustain the weight of such a superiority in point of number, when the Marquis D'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two-and-twenty fresh squadrons, which immediately turned the scale in their favor. The Elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other side of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favor the retreat of those who had not passed. The King seeing the battle lost, and the whole army in confusion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were posted, and then ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Hespen, which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was tumult, rout, and consternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw

themselves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave Earl of Athlone: the Duke of Ormond was wounded in several places, and taken prisoner by the enemy, and the Count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Ptemache brought off the greater part of the English infantry with great gallantry and conduct: as for the baggage, it had been sent to Liege before the engagement: but the confederates lost sixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, a great number of standards and colors<sup>\*</sup>, with about seven thousand men killed and wounded in the action. It must be owned that the allies fought with great valor and perseverance; and that King William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle: He charged in person both on horseback and on foot, where the danger was most imminent. His periwig, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf were penetrated by three different musket-bullets; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every side of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valor. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to his Princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he saw the Prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers: and that such valor richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct

\* The Duke of Luxembourg sent such a number of standards and ensigns to Paris, during the course of this war, that the Prince of Conti called him the Upholsterer of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed.

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and disposition were severely censured. Luxembourg having observed the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and drafting troops from Liege and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement.

§ XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg, being rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement from the Rhine, invested Charleroy. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The King detached the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders: but they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of consequence. The garrison of Charleroy defended the place with surprising valor, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulsed the assailants in several attacks: but, at length, despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the most honorable conditions; the reduction of the place was celebrated with a *Te Deum*, and other rejoicings at Paris. Louis,

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however, in the midst of his glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The allies had been defeated successively at Fleurus, Steenkerke and Landen: yet in a fortnight after each of those battles, William was always in a condition to risque another engagement. Formerly Louis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comté, without a battle; whereas, now he could not with his utmost efforts, and after the most signal victories, pass the frontiers of the United Provinces. The conquest of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter-quarters.

S XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, passed that river in the month of May at Philipburgh, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed numberless barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French soldiers, on this occasion, seem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered priests at the altar. They broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets. They set fire to different quarters of the city: they stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or

**BOOK I.** covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were set at liberty, in consequence of the fort's being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of a Tartarian free-booter, were acted by the express command of Louis XIV. of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal pens, not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Christendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side of that river: but in attempting to pass: he was twice repulsed with considerable damage. The Dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to seventy thousand men, crossed without opposition; but found the Germans so advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack: having, therefore, repassed the river, he secured Stuttgart with a garrison, sent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in August to Versailles. In Piedmont the allies were still more unfortunate. The Duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked up, and the other actually invested. The fort of St. Bridget, that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Mean while Catinat being re-enforced, descended into the plains. The Duke was so apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the siege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and

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marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marfaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbasson and Prosalque; and a desperate engagement ensued. The enemy charged the left wing of the confederates sword in hand with incredible fury: though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Neapolitan and Milanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Meanwhile, the main body and the other wing sustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry: then the whole front gave way. In vain the second line was brought up to sustain them: the horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The Duke of Schomberg having been denied the post which was his due, insisted upon fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the King of Great Britain, who were posted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the Count de los Torres desired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and right wing: but he refused to act without the order of his highness, and said, things were come to such a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued

**BOOK** to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and called for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be understood. The Duke being taken at the same instant, was afterwards dismissed upon his parole, and in a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The Earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being wounded and taken prisoner: but he soon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase: for the confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to superior number. The Duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a re-enforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to besiege, so severely had he been handled in the battle. He, therefore, contented himself with laying the country under contribution, re-enforcing the garrisons of Casal, Pignerol, and Susa, and making preparations for repassing the mountains. The news of the victory no sooner reached Paris, than Louis dispatched M. de Chanlais to Turin, with proposals for detaching the Duke of Savoy from the interest of the allies; and the Pope, who was now become a partisan of France, supported the negotiation with his whole influence: but the French King had not yet touched upon the right string. The Duke continued deaf to all his addresses.

§ XXIII. France had been alike successful in her intrigues at the courts of Rome and Constantinople.

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The Vizier at the Porte had been converted into a pensionary and creature of Louis; but the war in which the Turks had been so long and unsuccessfully engaged rendered him so odious to the people, that the Grand Signor deposed him, in order to appease their clamors. The English and Dutch ambassadors at Constantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the Emperor; but the terms they proposed were still rejected with disdain. In the mean time General Heusler, who commanded the Imperialists in Transylvania, reduced the fortresses of Jeno and Villaguswar. In the beginning of July the Duke de Croy assumed the chief command of the German army, passed the Danube and the Saave, and invested Belgrade. The siege was carried on for some time with great vigor: but, at length, abandoned at the approach of the Vizier, who obliged the Imperialists to repass the Saave, and sent out parties which made incursions into Upper-Hungary. The power of France had never been so conspicuous as at this juncture, when she maintained a formidable navy at sea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Exclusive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the Count de Noailles invested Roses in Catalonia, about the latter end of May, while at the same time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the Count d'Etrées. In a few days the place was surrendered by capitulation, and the castle of Ampurias met with the same fate. The Spanish power was reduced to such a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conquests without interruption, had not he

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**BOOK I.** been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont.

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§ XXIV. Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of this summer. The King had ordered the admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprise was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake some expedition of importance: but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malecontents in England. Louis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war: he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the

month of May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

§ XXV. In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets sailed down the channel. On the sixth, Sir George Rook was detached to the Straits with a squadron of three-and-twenty ships, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The great fleet returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant-ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, and Flanders. On the sixteenth, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rook, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadix, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence, but at last were over-powered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war and a

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**B O O K** rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant-vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the Counts de Tourville and D'Etréées. Seven of the largest Smyrna-ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlogon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Mean while Rook stood off with a fresh gale, and on the nineteenth sent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and on the third day of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached Captain Fairborne to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of August, they returned to St. Helen's, and the five regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rook to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadix, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his

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squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West-Indies. In conjunction with Colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New-England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation ; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England ; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of this voyage.

§ XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth, they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship of a particular contrivance, styled the Infernal, in order to burn the town ; but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues around. A captain that weighed two hundred

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**BOOK**      pounds was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground; the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamors of the people became louder and louder: They scrupled not to say, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed, that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the Queen, and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

**S XXVIII.** But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their

victories. That kingdom labored under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavorable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to King William, by which it appears, that the French King would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions: but the terms were rejected by the King of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects though heavy laden, could still bear additional burdens.

§ XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of King James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favored his interest. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another, which contained

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**BOOK I.** the promise of a general pardon without exceptions, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Caning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old-Baily, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high-treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragements he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby; then they found him guilty, In vain recourse was had to the Queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the late King James and Louis XIV. happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the King's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution:

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and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council : these were answered by Dr. Lyttleton, who succeeded him in the office from which he was dismissed ; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses ; a charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favor : but their correspondence was detected, and their aims defeated, by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnstone not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dexterous management of court-liberality and favor, appeased thecontents of the presbyterians so effectually, that the King ran no risque in assembling the parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the kirk-party ; and the Duke of Hamilton, being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the eighteenth day of April, the session was opened, and the King's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good-humor. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his Majesty's letter : They voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom : They granted a supply of above one hundred

**B O O K** and fifty thousand pounds sterl<sup>ing</sup> to his Majesty :  
 I. 1693. They enacted a law for levying men to serve on board  
 the royal navy : They fined all absentees, whether  
 Lords or Commons ; and vacated the seats of all those  
 commissioners who refused to take the oath of assur-  
 ance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of King  
 James : They set on foot an inquiry about an intended  
 invasion : They published some intercepted letters,  
 supposed to be written to King James by Nevil Payne,  
 whom they committed to prison, and threatened with  
 a trial for high treason ; but he eluded the danger, by  
 threatening in his turn to impeach those who had  
 made their peace with the government : They passed  
 an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal  
 clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the  
 tenth day of July. All that the general assembly re-  
 quired of them, was, an offer to subscribe the confes-  
 sion of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the  
 only government of the Scottish church : but they  
 neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths  
 within the limited time ; so that they forfeited all legal  
 right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued  
 in possession, and even received private assurances of  
 the King's protection. It was one of William's poli-  
 tical maxims, to court his domestic enemies ; but it  
 was never attended with any good effect. This indul-  
 gence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former  
 distractions began to revive.

§ XXXI. The King having prevailed upon the  
 States-General to augment their land-forces and navy  
 for the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for  
 England, and arrived at Kensington on the thirtieth

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day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of state mismanaged, and the ministers recriminating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland, his chief counsellor, represented, that the Tories were averse to the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and disgrace; whereas, the Whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invasion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the crown, and partly from the prospect of advantage, in advancing money to the government on the funds established by parliament: for that sort of traffic which obtained the appellation of the monied-interest was altogether a whiggish institution. The King revolved these observations in his own mind; and in the mean time, the parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last prorogation. In his speech, he expressed his resentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land-forces and the navy; and demanded a suitable supply for these purposes. In order to pave the way to their conciliation, he had already dismissed from his council the Earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the Earl of Shrewsbury: but that nobleman suspecting this was a change of men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time, until he received such assurances from the King as quieted his

BOOK. scruples, and then he accepted the office of secretary.  
 I. The lieutenancy for the city of London, and all other  
 1693. commissions over England, were altered with a view  
 to favor the Whig-interest; and the individuals of  
 that party were indulged with many places of trust  
 and profit: but the Tories were too powerful in the  
 House of Commons to be exasperated, and therefore  
 a good number of them were retained in office.

§ XXXII. On the sixth day of the session, the Commons unanimously resolved to support their Majesties and their government; to inquire into miscarriages; and to consider means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey-company were summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the commissioners of the Admiralty for convoy: Lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rook concerning the Straits fleet, together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the miscarriage of Rook's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the Admirals, and neglect of the Victualling-Office: but they were screened by a majority. M. Harley, one of the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation against Lord Falkland. Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquisites of the navy, confessed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the accounts; and, in particular, that he had paid four thousand pounds to Lord Falkland, by his Majesty's order. This lord had

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acknowledged before the commissioners, that he had paid one half of the sum, by the King's order, to a person who was not a member of either House; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman desiring to see it, detained the voucher; a circumstance that incensed the Commons to such a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but at last over-ruled by the majority. Nevertheless, they agreed to make him sensible of their displeasure, and he was reprimanded in his place. The House of Lords having also inquired into the causes of the mis-carriage at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the Admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the Whig-lords, who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step of the Lords, was to exculpate the Earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to lie with him, on the supposition that the admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the whiggish secretary, the Earl gave the House to understand, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing, a list of the enemy's fleet, and the time of their sailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly imparted to Secretary Trenchard, whose province it was to transmit instructions to the admirals.

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Two conferences passed on this subject between the Lords and Commons. Trenchard delivered in his defence in writing; and was in his turn skreened by the whole efforts of the ministry, in which the Whig-influence now predominated. Thus, an inquiry of such national consequence, which took its rise from the King's own expression of resentment against the delinquents, was stifled by the arts of the court, because it was likely to affect one of its creatures: for, though there was no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the public was certainly sacrificed to the mutual animosity of the ministers. The charge of Lord Falkland being resumed in the House of Commons, he appeared to have begged and received of the King the remaining two thousand pounds of the money which had been paid by Rainsford: he was, therefore, declared guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower, from whence, however, he was in two days discharged upon his petition.

§ XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, presented to the House a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue, together with two reports from the commissioners of accounts, concerning sums issued for secret-services, and to members of parliament. This was a discovery of the most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption, equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents, and additional salaries. The malecontents, therefore, justly observed, the House of Commons was so managed that the King could baffle any bill, qualif

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all grievances, stifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the Commons took into consideration the estimates and supplies of the ensuing year, the King demanded forty thousand men for the navy, and above one hundred thousand for the purposes of the land-service. Before the House considered these enormous demands, they granted four hundred thousand pounds by way of advance, to quiet the clamors of the seamen, who were become mutinous and desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then the Commons voted the number of men required for the navy: but they were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that they still retained some regard for their country. They called for all the treaties subsisting between the King and his allies: they examined the different proportions of the troops furnished by the respective powers: they considered the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment of the year at fourscore and three thousand, one hundred, and twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions, five hundred and thirty thousand, five hundred, and ninety pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll-bills; so that the supplies for the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a further excise on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

**BOOK**    § XXXIV. Though the malecontents in parliament could not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured to distress the court-interest, by reviving the popular bills of the preceding session; such as that for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in parliament. The first was neglected in the House of Lords; the second was rejected; the third was passed by the Commons, on the supposition that it would be defeated in the other House. The Lords returned it with certain amendments, to which the Commons would not agree: a conference ensued; the peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill, to which the King, however, refused his assent. Nothing could be more unpopular and dangerous than such a step at this juncture. The Commons, in order to recover some credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his Majesty's conduct. The house formed itself into a committee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration. They resolved that whoever advised the King to refuse the royal assent to that bill, was an enemy to their Majesties and the kingdom. They likewise presented an address, expressing their concern that he had not given his consent to the bill, and beseeching his Majesty to hearken for the future to the advice of his parliament, rather than to the counsels of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from those of his Majesty and his people. The King thanked them for their zeal, professed a warm regard for their constitution,

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constitution, and assured them he would look upon all parties as enemies, who should endeavour to lessen the confidence subsisting between the sovereign and people. The members in the opposition were not at all satisfied with this general reply. A day being appointed to take it into consideration, a warm debate was maintained with equal eloquence and acrimony. At length, the question being put, that an address should be made for a more explicit answer, it passed in the negative by a great majority.

§ XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a parliamentary provision might be made for the orphans, whose fortunes they had scandalously squandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding session, and rejected with disdain, as an imposition on the public: but now those scruples were removed, and the House passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses, extending to different charges on the city-lands, aqueducts, and personal estates; imposing duties on binding apprentices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March these bills received the royal assent; and the King took that opportunity of recommending dispatch, as the season of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The scheme of a national bank, like those of Amsterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry, as an excellent institution, as well for the credit and security of the government, as for the increase of trade and circulation. One project was invented by Dr. Hugh

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**BOOK** Chamberlain, proposing the circulation of tickets on land-security : but William Paterson was author of that which was carried into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund of ready money, to circulate one million at eight per-cent. to be lent to the government ; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest. When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in parliament secured for its reception, the undertakers for the court introduced it into the House of Commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from such a measure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the value of land, revive and establish public credit, extend circulation, consequently improve commerce, facilitate the annual supplies, and connect the people the more closely with the government. The project was violently opposed by a strong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engross the whole money of the kingdom : that, as it must infallibly be subservient to government-views, it might be employed to the worst purposes of arbitrary power : that, instead of assisting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in stock-jobbing : that it would produce a swarm of brokers and jobbers to pry upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further-

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corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithstanding these objections, the bill made its way through the two Houses, establishing the funds for the security and advantage of the subscribers; empowering their Majesties to incorporate them by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve hundred thousand pounds, the said corporation should cease and determine. The bill likewise contained clauses of appropriation for the services of the public. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. All these funds proving inadequate to the estimates, the Commons brought in a bill to impose stamp-duties upon all vellum, parchment, and paper, used in almost every kind of intercourse between man and man; and they crowned the oppressions of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing and regulating hackney and stage-coaches.

§ XXXVI. The Commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company so failing should be deemed void and forfeited. The East-India company actually neglected their payment, and the public imagined the ministry would

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**BOOK.** feize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly  
**L** against which so many complaints had been made :  
**1693.** but the directors understood their own strength ; and , instead of being broke , obtained the promise of a new charter . This was no sooner known , than the controversy between them and their adversaries was revived with such animosity , that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing . As this produced no resolution , the merchants who opposed the company petitioned , that , in the mean while , the new charter might be suspended . Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of clothiers , linen-drapers , and other dealers . To these a written answer was published by the company : the merchants printed a reply , in which they undertook to prove , that the company had been guilty of unjust and unwarrantable actions , tending to the scandal of religion , the dishonor of the nation , the reproach of our laws , oppression of the people , and the ruin of the trade . They observed , that two private ships had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the company had exported in three years . They offered to send more cloth and English merchandise to the Indies in one year , than the company had exported in five ; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of salt petre for less than one half of the usual price ; and they represented , that the company could neither load the ships they petitioned for in England , nor reload them in the East-Indies . In spite of all these remonstrances , the new charter passed the great seal ; though the grants contained

in it were limited in such a manner, that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the King should direct before the twenty-ninth day of September. This indulgence, and other favors granted to the company, were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. The merchants published a journal of the whole transaction, and petitioned the House of Commons that their liberty of trading to the East-Indies might be confirmed by parliament. Another petition was presented by the company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary sanction. Both parties employed all their address in making private application to the members. The house having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East-Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament.

§ XXXVII. But nothing engrossed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the House for a general naturalization of all foreign protestants. The advocates for this measure alledged, That great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated: That the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants: That the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary supply: That a great number of protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring

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**BOOK** along with them their wealth and manufactures :  
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 1692. That the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had already settled in the kingdom. They had introduced several new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labor ; a circumstance of the utmost importance to trade, oppressed as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, That it would cheapen the birthright of Englishmen : that the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times : That foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expense of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country : That the reduction in the price of labor would be a national grievance, while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and the price of provisions continued so high , that even those who were employed could scarce supply their families with bread: That the real design of the bill was to make such an accession to the dissenters as would render them an equal match in the body - politic for those of the church of England ; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and, in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members. Sir John Knight , a member of the House, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and virulence of satire ; it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people as had not appeared since the

Revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become Lord-danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight as the saviour of the nation<sup>1</sup>. The courtiers, incensed at the progress of this clamor, complained in the House of the speech which had been printed; and Sir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He, therefore, thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This sacrifice served only to increase the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court-party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the present.

§ XXXVII. Lord Copenhsby and M. Porter had committed the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland. These had been explained during the last session, by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of Lord Sidney: but they were screened by the ministry; and, therefore, the Earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the House of Commons, of which he and they were members: After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared, that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment.—In the course of this session, the nation sustained another misfortune in the fate of Sir

<sup>1</sup> Burnet. Fouquieres. Life of King William. Tindal. State-Tracts. Ralph. Voltaire.

**BOOK** Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean squadron. He received instructions to take under his convoy the merchant-ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruise thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish ~~plate~~-fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his squadron at Cadix, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Straits, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he set sail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadix with the ships under his convoy. There leaving Rear-Admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The Admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant-ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that, instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadix, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were still at sea, under the Command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the King closed the session with a speech in

the usual style, and the parliament was prorogued C H A P.  
to the eighteenth day of September'. IV.

§ XXXIX. Louis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the Duke of Savoy, and, by the canal of the Pope, made some offers to the King of Spain, which were rejected. Mean while he resolved to 16,24

Besides the bills already mentioned, the parliament in this session passed an act for taking and stating the public accounts — another to encourage ship-building — a third for the better disciplining the navy — the usual militia-act — and an act enabling his Majesty to make grants and leases in the duchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute, limiting the number of justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The Duke of Norfolk brought an action into the court of King's Bench against Mr. Germaine, for criminal conversation with his Duchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred marks, and costs of suit, in favor of the plaintiff.

Before the King embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the Duke of Ormond, was created Lord Butler, of Weston in England, and Earl of Arran in Ireland. The Earl of Shrewsbury was honored with the title of Duke. The Earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the court-measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of Marquis of Normanby. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of Baron Herbert, of Cherbury. The Earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of dukes. The Marquis of Caermarthen was made Duke of Leeds, Lord Viscount Sidney, created Earl of Romney, and Viscount Newport, Earl of Bedford. Russel was advanced to the head of the Admiralty-board. Sir George Rook and Sir John Houblon were appointed joint-commissioners, in the room of Killegrew and Delaval. Charles Montague was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir William Trumball and John Smith commissioners of the Treasury, in the room of Sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hambden.

**BOOK I.** stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the Count de Noailles, who commanded the land-army. King William having received intelligence of the design upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Russel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail: but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the Admiral sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached Captain Pritchard of the Monmouth with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant-ships near Conquet-bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudefly Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land-forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of General Ptolemache, the whole fleet sailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea-officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet designed for this expedition, should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the seventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the Marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as rear-

admiral of the blue, entered Camaret bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops; and though the ships cannonaded them with great vigor, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of General Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those who were killed on board of the ships. The Monk ship of war was towed off with great difficulty: but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy.

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§ XL. After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, sailed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the Queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre-de-Grace, which met with the same fate. They harassed the French troops, who marched after them along-shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such

**BOOK** **I.** **1694.** consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force. On the twenty-sixth day of July, Lord Berkely returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudefly Shovel. This officer having received instruction to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day sent in the Charles galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called infernals. These were set on fire without effect; and the design miscarried: then Shovel steered to Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were sent into the river Thames.

§ XLI. During these transactions, Admiral Russel, with the grand fleet, sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by Rear-Admiral Neville from Cadix, together with Callemborgh and Evertzen, he steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterprise. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he contintued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honor of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning

of November to Cadix, where, by an express order of the King, he passed the winter, during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to risque the passage.

§ XLII. It will now be necessary to describe the operations on the continent. In the middle of May King William arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the States-General. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethlem abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendez-vous of the army; and there he was met by the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn. In a few days a numerous army was assembled; and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign. On the third day of June the Dauphin assumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge; and passing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus: but, on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim; while the confederates lay at Roosbeck. On the eleventh of July, the Dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-second, the confederates marched to Bomale: then the Dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he secured his army by intrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this situation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when King William sent the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on the eighteenth made a motion to

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1694. **Sombref.** This was no sooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Temploux and Masy, within a league and a half of the confederates. The King of England resolved to pass the Scheld; and with this view marched, by the way of Nivelle and Soignies, to Chievres: from thence he detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of horse and foot, to pass the river at Oudenarde, while the elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment, to pass it at Pont d'Espieres. Notwithstanding all the expedition they could make, their purpose was anticipated by Luxembourg, who being apprized of their route, had detached four thousand horse, with each a foot-soldier behind the trooper, to reinforce M. de Valette, who commanded that part of the French line. These were sustained by a choice body of men, who travelled with great expedition, without observing the formalities of a march. Marechal de Villeroy followed the same route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the household troops, and twenty field-pieces; and the rest of the army was brought up by the Dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the Elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in sight of the Scheld, and saw them intrenching themselves on the other side of the river. King William having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place, and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where a passage had been already effected by the Duke of Wirtemberg. Here the confederates passed.

the Scheld on the twenty-seventh day of the month; and the King fixed his head-quarters at Wanneghem. His intention was to have taken possession of Courtray, and established winter-quarters for a considerable part of his army in that district: but, Luxembourg having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in such a manner, that the confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from subsisting his army at the expense of the Castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French King, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army; and ordered that it should be read to every particular squadron and battalion.

§ XLIII. The King of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make some advantage of his superiority in number. He drafted troops from the garrisons of Liege and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced his body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, with orders to undertake the siege of Huy. Next day, the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Woutergheim. From thence the King, with part of the army, marched to Roselaer: this division obliged the Dauphin to make considerable detachments, for the security of Ypres and Menin on one side, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being seized in the very act of setting fire to one of the ammunition-waggons in the allied army,

**BOOK I.** confessed he had been employed for this purpose by some of the French generals, and suffered death as a traitor. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Duke of Holstein-Ploen invested Huy, and carried on the siege with such vigor, that in ten days the garrison capitulated. The King ordered Dixmuyde, Deynse, Ninove, and Tirlemont, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army: the Dauphin returned to Versailles; William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine were pre-concerted between King William and the Prince of Baden, who had visited London in the winter. The dispute between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony was compromised; and this young Prince dying during the negociation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and successor, who engaged to furnish twelve thousand men yearly, in consideration of a subsidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philippsburgh, in order to give battle to the Imperialists, encamped at Heilbron. The Prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Hessians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, dispatched couriers to quicken the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait till they should come up: but, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence, that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted,

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to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This pause enabled Prince Louis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the Marshal proceeded to Viseloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the Imperialists from their intrenchments. The Prince being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French general being apprized of his design, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitation. Having posted himself at Ruth, he sent his heavy baggage to Philipburgh: then he moved to Gonsbergh, in the neighbourhood of Manheim, re-passed the Rhine, and encamped between Spires and Worms. The Prince of Baden being joined by the allies, passed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and laid the country of Alsace under contribution. Considering the advanced season of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French general resolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced against the Imperialists, foreseeing that should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately passed the Rhine; and this retreat was no sooner effected, than the river swelled to such a degree, that the island in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no event of importance. It was opened by the new Vizier, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August: and about the same

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time Caprara assembled the Imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks passed the Saave, in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progress. The Imperialists received re-enforcements; the season wasted away; a feud arose between the Vizier and the Cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelled by heavy rains, so as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their general decamped in the night of the first of October. They afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Titul, while the Imperial general made himself master of Giula. In the course of this summer, the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of importance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Scio in the Archipelago.

§ XLV. We have already observed, that the French King had determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the Duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the viceroy of Catalonia was encamped with sixteen thousand Spaniards. The French general passed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their intrenchments with such impetuosity, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the siege of that place, while at the same time it was blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by storm, the houses were pillaged,

and the people put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Ostalric met with the same fate, and Noailles was created viceroy of Catalonia by the French King. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment, along the river Tordore, resolving to undertake the siege of Barcelona, which was saved by the arrival of Admiral Ruffel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negociation between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; notwithstanding the remonstrances of Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, who had succeeded the Duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Casal was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Ragelas: but no design of importance was executed<sup>7</sup>.

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§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the Queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices, or pretended practices, of the Jacobites. Prosecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favor of the late King's projected invasion from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry

<sup>7</sup> In the course of this Year, M. du Caffe, governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica; and M. St. Clair, with four men of war, formed a design against St. John's, Newfoundland; but he was repulsed with loss, by the valor of the inhabitants.

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**1694.** countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them: but Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was set upon his head. The King, having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the session of parliament, with a speech, in which he observed that the posture of affairs was improved both by sea and land since they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas: he reminded them of the debt for the transport-ships employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both Houses was already secured; and in all probability, he bargained for their concurrence, by agreeing to the bill for triennial parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in, by order of the Lower House, immediately after their first adjournment; and it kept pace with the consideration of the supplies. The Commons having examined the estimates and accounts, voted four millions, seven hundred sixty-four thousand, seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum, they continued the land-tax; they renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different

commodities \*. The triennial bill enacted, That a parliament should be held once in three years at least: That within three years at farthest after the dissolution of the parliament then subsisting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new parliament: That no parliament should continue longer than three years at farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the first session: and, That the parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following, unless their Majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

§ XLVII. While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the twenty-second day of November, deeply regretted by the King and Queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance.

\* They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards, paying the debt due for the transport-ships; and another, imposing duties on glass-ware, stone, and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

**BOOK** ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation.  
**I.** These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies, who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition; and charged him with having conducted to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the Archbishopric during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the Whig-party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The Queen did not long survive her favorite prelate. In about a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new Archbishop: she received the sacrament with all the Bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the King, who for some weeks after her death could neither see company, nor attend to the business of state. Mary was in her person tall and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended, without

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compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centered all her ambition in deserving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife'.

§ XLVIII. The Princess Anne being informed of the Queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber, to desire she might be admitted to her Majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern; and given to understand that the physicians had directed that the Queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and, after her decease, the Earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the King and the Princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed

\* Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey by all the Judges, Serjeants at Law, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of the city of London, and both Houses of Parliament; and the funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Kenn, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her Majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the Revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the Queen's memory, by preaching on the following text. " Go, now, " see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a King's " daughter." On the other hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the King, in the Royal-Exchange.

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1694. the palace of St. James for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the Queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two Houses of parliament waited on the King at Kensington, with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort: their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham are said to have started a doubt, Whether the parliament was not dissolved by the Queen's death ? but this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

## CHAP. V.

§ I. Account of the Lancashire plot. II. The Commons inquire into the abuses which had crept into the army. III. They expel and prosecute some of their own members for corruption in the affair of the East-India Company. IV. Examination of Cocke, Acton, and others. V. The Commons impeach the Duke of Leeds. VI. The parliament is prorogued. VII. Session of the Scottish parliament. VIII. They inquire into the massacre of Glencoe. IX. They pass an act for erecting a trading company to Africa and the Indies. X. Proceedings in the parliament of Ireland. XI. Disposition of the armies in Flanders. XII. King William undertakes the siege of Namur. XIII. Famous retreat of Prince Vaudemont. Brussels is bombarded by Villeroy. XIV. Progress of the siege of Namur. XV. Villeroy attempts to relieve it. The besiegers make a desperate assault. XVI. The place capitulates; Boufflers is arrested by order of King William. XVII. Campaign on the Rhine, and in Hungary. XVIII. The Duke of Savoy takes Casal. XIX. Transactions in Catalonia. XX. The English fleet bombards St. Maloes and other places on the coast of France. XXI. Wilmot's expedition to the West-Indies. XXII. A new parliament. XXIII. They pass the bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason. XXIV. Resolutions with respect to a new

*coinage.* XXV. *The Commons address the King, to recal a grant he had made to the Earl of Portland.* XXVI. *Another against the new Scottish company.* XXVII. *Intrigues of the Jacobites.* XXVIII. *Conspiracy against the life of William.* XXIX. *Design of an invasion defeated.* XXX. *The two Houses engage in an association for the defence of his Majesty.* XXXI. *Establishment of a land-bank.* XXXII. *Trial of the conspirators.* XXXIII. *The allies burn the magazine at Givet.* XXXIV. *Louis XIV. makes advances towards a peace with Holland.* XXXV. *He detaches the Duke of Savoy from the confederacy.* XXXVI. *Naval transactions.* XXXVII. *Proceedings in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland.* XXXVIII. *Zeal of the English Commons in their affection to the King.* XXXIX. *Resolutions touching the coin, and the support of public-credit.* XL. *Enormous impositions.* XLI. *Sir John Fenwick is apprehended.* XLII. *A bill of attainder being brought into the House against him, produces violent debates.* XLIII. *His defence.* XLIV. *The bill passes.* XLV. *Sir John Fenwick is beheaded.* XLVI. *The Earl of Monmouth sent to the Tower.* XLVII. *Inquiry into miscarriages by sea.* XLVIII. *Negociations at Ryswick.* XLIX. *The French take Barcelona.* L. *Fruitless expedition of Admiral Neville to the West-Indies.* LI. *The Elector of Saxony is chosen King of Poland.* LII. *Peter the Czar of Muscovy travels in disguise with his own ambassadors.* LIII. *Proceedings in the congress at Ryswick.*

LIV. *The ambassadors of England, Spain, and Holland, sign the treaty.* LV. *A general pacification.*

§ I. THE kingdom now resounded with the complaints of the papists and malecontents, who taxed the ministry with subornation of perjury, in the case of the Lancashire-gentlemen who had been persecuted for the conspiracy. One Lunt, an Irishman, had informed Sir John Trenchard, secretary of state, that he had been sent from Ireland, with commissions from King James to divers gentlemen in Lancashire: and Cheshire that he had assisted in buying arms, and enlisting men to serve that king in his projected invasion of England: that he had been twice dispatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germain's, assisted many Jacobites in repairing to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by Sir John Friend to defray the expense of their expeditions. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the Treasury, who, with messengers, accompanied Lunt and his associates to Lancashire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horse-guards, commanded by one Captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons, according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The

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1694. persons against whom these measures were taken , being apprized of the impending danger , generally retired from their own habitations. Some , however , were taken and imprisoned : a few arms were secured ; and , in the house of Mr. Standish , at Standish-hall , they found the draught of a declaration to be published by King James at his landing . As this prosecution seemed calculated to revive the honor of a stale conspiracy , and the evidences were persons of abandoned characters , the friends of those who were persecuted , found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation . They even employed the pen of Ferguson , who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched since the Rye-house-conspiracy . This veteran , though appointed house-keeper to the Excise-office , thought himself poorly recompensed for the part he had acted in the Revolution , became dissatisfied , and , upon this occasion , published a letter to Sir John Trenchard , on the abuse of power . It was replete with the most bitter invectives against the ministry , and contained a great number of flagrant instances , in which the court had countenanced the vilest corruption , perfidy , and oppression . This production was in every body's hand , and had such an effect upon the people , that when the prisoners were brought to trial at Manchester , the populace would have put the witnesses to death , had they not been prevented by the interposition of those who were friends to the accused persons , and had already taken effectual measures for their safety . Lunt's chief associate in the mystery of information was one Taaffe , a wretch of the most profligate principles ,

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who, finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the ministry, was privately gained over by the agents for the prisoners. Lunt, when desired in court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Taaffe declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himself and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The prisoners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of knavish contrivances to insnare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of such practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into the House of Commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence for the crown, not without making a considerable impression. But the cause was now debated before judges who were not all propitious to their views. The Commons having set on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, That there was sufficient ground for the prosecution and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the King and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they presented an address to the King, desiring a proclamation might be published,

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1694. offering a reward for apprehending his person. The Peers concurred with the Commons in their sentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their House also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, Whether government had cause to prosecute them? and carried in the affirmative, though a protest was entered against this vote by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster-assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the crown, for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry, in laying this indictment, was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony: but the design being discovered, the Lancashire-men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence; and the prisoners were discharged.

§ II. When the Commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to Colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence-money, even on pain of military execution. The House was immediately kindled into a flame by this information. The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regiment, were examined: then it was unanimously resolved, That such a

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practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. Upon further inquiry, Pauncefort and some other agents were committed to the custody of the Serjeant, for having neglected to pay the subsistence-money they had received for the officers and soldiers. He was afterwards sent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the House, and secretary to the Treasury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving, a bribe to obtain the King's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewise committed, for being concerned in the same commerce. Guy had been employed, together with Trevor the Speaker, as the court-agent for securing a majority in the House of Commons: for that reason, he was obnoxious to the members in the opposition, who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not with any decency screen him from their vengeance. The House having proceeded in this inquiry, drew up an address to the King, enumerating the abuses which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redress. He promised to consider the remonstrance, and redress the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he cashiered Colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to sit weekly and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the maintenance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithstanding these concessions, the Commons prosecuted their examinations: they committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for clothing the army, because he refused to answer upon oath to such questions as

**BOOK I.** 1694. might be put to him by the commissioners of accounts<sup>1</sup>. They brought in a bill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage the other contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to discover how they had disposed of the sums paid into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period, they received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the King, were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act of parliament.

§ III. Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation introduced another inquiry about the orphans bill, which was said to have passed into an act, by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to inspect the Chamberlain's books, discovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House, and Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee. The first being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed Speaker in his room. Then Sir John and Hungerford were expelled the House: one Nois, a solicitor for the bill, was taken into custody, because he had scandalized the Commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great sums to several members, and denying this circumstance on his examination. The reformers in the House naturally concluded that the same arts had been practised in obtaining the new charter of the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet. Boyer. Oldmixon. State-Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals. Daniel. Voltaire.

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East-India company, which had been granted so much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the former inquiry, and a surprising scene of venality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in secret-services; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, and a member of the House, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, refusing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging him to discover how the sum mentioned in the report of the committee had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the Upper House by the Duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke, being agreeably to his own petition, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, declared that he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favored with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East-India company, which he had never injured. The Lords complied with his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the Commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid aside.

§ IV. When the King went to the House, to give the royal assent to the money-bills, he endeavoured to discourage this inquiry, by telling the parliament that the season of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs extremely pressing: he, therefore, desired they would dispatch such business as

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they should think of most importance to the public, as he should put an end to the session in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both Houses appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his first examination, confessed, that he had delivered tallies for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tiffen, deputy-governor, for the special service of the company; an equal sum to Richard Acton, for employing his interest in preventing a new settlement, and endeavouring to establish the old company; besides two thousand pounds by way of interest, and as a further gratuity; a thousand guineas to Colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates; and three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineux, a merchant, for the same purpose; and he owned that Sir Basil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds on various pretences. He said he believed the ten thousand pounds paid to Tyffen had been delivered to the King by Sir Josiah Child, as a customary present which former kings had received; and that the sums paid to Acton were distributed among some members of parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to some persons of the first quality. Acton declared, that ten thousand pounds of the sum which he had received was distributed among persons who had interest with members of parliament; and that great part of the money passed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with some colonels in the House, and

northern members, Bates owned he had received the money, in consideration of using his interest with the Duke of Leeds in favor of the company : that this nobleman knew of the gratuity ; and that the sum was reckoned by his grace's domestic, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his possession until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony, as well as by that of Firebrace on his second examination, that the Duke of Leeds was not free from corruption, and that Sir John Trevor was a hireling prostitute.

§ V. The report of the committee produced violent altercation, and the most severe strictures upon the conduct of the Lord President. At length, the House resolved, That there was sufficient matter to impeach Thomas Duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanors; and that he should be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, That, Mr. Comptroller Wharton should impeach him before the Lords, in the name of the House, and of all the Commons in England. The Duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification, in which he assured the House, upon his honor, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had passed in the Commons. He concluded his speech abruptly, and repairing to the Lower-House, desired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having sat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the Commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked

**BOOK I.** them for the favor of indulging him with a hearing, he said that House would not have been then sitting but for him. He protested his own innocence, with respect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a design which had been long formed against him. He expressed a deep sense of his being under the displeasure of the parliament and nation, and demanded speedy justice. They, forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment, which being exhibited at the bar of the Upper-House, he pleaded not guilty, and the Commons promised to make good their charge: but, by this time, such arts had been used, as all at once checked the violence of the prosecution. Such a number of considerable persons were involved in this mystery of corruption, that a full discovery was dreaded by both parties. The Duke sent his domestic, Robart, out of the kingdom, and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the inquiry was dropped; but the scandal stuck fast to the Duke's character.

§ VI. In the midst of these deliberations, the King went to the House on the third of May, when he thanked the parliament for the supplies they had granted; signified his intention of going abroad; assured them he would place the administration of affairs in persons of known care and fidelity; and desired that the members of both Houses would be more than ordinary vigilant in preserving the public peace. The parliament was then prorogued to the eighteenth of June<sup>1</sup>. The King immediately

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this session, the Lords had inquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and presented an address to the King, declaring, that the fleet in those seas

appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence: but neither the Princess of Denmark nor her husband were intrusted with any share in the administration; a circumstance that evinced the King's jealousy, and gave offence to a great part of the nation<sup>2</sup>.

had conduced to the honor and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the Commons, in an address, besought his Majesty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expense of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminished and adulterated, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham expatiated upon this national evil in the House of Lords; an act was passed, containing severer penalties against clippers: but this produced no good effect. The value of money sunk in the exchange to such a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty shillings; and this public disgrace lowered the credit of the funds and of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, instead of gold and silver, such as bank-bills, Exchequer tallies, and government-securities. The malecontents took this opportunity to exclaim against the Bank, and even attempted to shake the credit of it in parliament: but their endeavour proved abortive: the monied interest preponderated in both Houses.

<sup>3</sup> The regency was composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Somers, lord-keeper of the great seal; the Earl of Pembroke, lord-privy-seal; the Duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the Duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state; the Earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain; and the Lord Godolphin, first commissioner of the Treasury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of secretary was filled with Sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Constantinople. William Nassau de Zuylestein, son of the King's natural uncle, was created Baron of Enfield, Viscount Funbridge, and Earl of Rochford. Ford, Lord Grey of Werke, was made Viscount Glendale, and Earl

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§ VII. A session of parliament was deemed necessary in Scotland, to provide new subsidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kingdom, which had been so serviceable in the prosecution of the war. But, as a great outcry had been raised against the government, on account of the massacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expense of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the ministry thought proper to cajole them with the promise of some national indulgence. In the mean time, a commission passed the great seal, for taking a precognition of the massacre, as a previous step to the trial of the persons concerned in that perfidious transaction. On the ninth of May, the session was opened by the Marquis of Tweedale, appointed commissioner, who, after the King's letter had been read, expatiated on his Majesty's care and concern for their safety and welfare; and his firm purpose to maintain the presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promised, in the King's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his Majesty would indulge them with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to consider ways and means to raise the necessary supplies for maintaining their land-forces, and for

of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was distinguished by the death of the famous George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who had survived in a good measure his talents and reputation.

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providing a competent number of ships of war to protect their commerce. The parliament immediately voted an address of condolence to his Majesty on the death of the Queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling for the services of the ensuing year, to be raised by a general poll-tax, a land-tax and an additional excise.

§ VIII. Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the King, for his care to vindicate the honor of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with respect to the daughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards made that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair: accordingly, a report, consisting of the King's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the parliament. The motion is said to have been privately influenced by Secretary Johnstone, for the disgrace of Dalrymple, who was his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, imported, That Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; that the King's intentions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, That Livingston was not to blame, for having given the orders contained in his letters to Lieut. Col. Hamilton: that this last was liable to prosecution: that the King should be addressed to give orders, either for examining Major Duncanson

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 that Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsey, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the parliament drew up an address to the King, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the Master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his Majesty would give such orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the King's advocate, according to law; and that some reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion, as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish parliament, by which the King was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution, especially as the Master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors of the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the inquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high-treason; and he was committed prisoner to the

castle of Edinburgh : but it seems he had dissembled with the Highlanders, by the King's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

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§ IX. The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers granted by the King to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies , empowering them to plant colonies , hold cities , towns , or forts , in places uninhabited , or in others , with the consent of the natives ; vesting them with an exclusive right , and an exemption for one - and - twenty years from all duties or impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal , directed by the parliament, without any further warrant from the crown. Paterson , the projector , had contrived the scheme of a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien , in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South-Sea , as well as in the Atlantic ; nay , even to extend it as far as the East-Indies: a great number of London-merchants , allured by the prospect of gain , were eager to engage in such a company , exempted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish parliament likewise passed an act in favor of the episcopal clergy, decreeing, That those who should enter into such engagements to the King , as were by law required , might continue in their benefices under his Majesty's protection , without being subject to the power of presbytery. Seventy of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted , for raising nine thousand men yearly , to recruit the Scottish

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regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a public bank: then the parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the same factions which had broke out in England since the Revolution, Lord Capel, the lord-deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppressing the Irish papists, without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a parliament in such a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry; and he succeeded in his endeavours, by making such arbitrary changes in offices as best suited his purpose. These precautions being taken, he convoked a parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the session with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to King William, and exhorting them to make suitable returns to such a gracious sovereign. He observed, that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment; so that both the civil and military lists were greatly in debt: that his Majesty had sent over a bill for an additional excise, and expected they would find ways and means to answer the demands of the service. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to assist his Majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies foreign and domestic. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the writs. "*De heretico comburendo;*" another annulling all attainders and acts passed in the late pretended parliament of King James: a third to prevent foreign education: a fourth for disarming papists: and a fifth for settling the estates of intestates.

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Then they resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty - three thousand, three hundred and twenty - five pounds, should be granted to his Majesty , to be raised by a poll - bill , additional customs , and a continuation of the additional excise . Sir Charles Porter , the Chancellor , finding his importance diminished , if not entirely destroyed , by the assuming disposition and power of the Lord - Deputy , began to court popularity , by espousing the cause of the Irish , against the severity of the administration ; and actually formed a kind of Tory - interest , which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures . A motion was made in parliament to impeach the Chancellor , for sowing discord and division among his Majesty's subjects : but , being indulged with a hearing by the House of Commons , he justified himself so much to their satisfaction , that he was voted clear of all imputation , by a great majority . Nevertheless , they , at the end of the session , sent over an address , in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their Lord - Deputy .

§ XI. King William having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence , crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May , fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands , that might aggrandize his military character , and humble the power of France , which was already in the decline . That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner , that the haughty Louis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success . He heard

**BOOK I.** **1693.** the clamors of his people, which he could not quiet: he saw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Francis de Montmorency, Duke of Luxembourg, to whose military talents he owed the greatest part of his glory and success. That great officer died in January at Versailles, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and Louis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another general left, in whose understanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was intrusted to Mare-schal Villeroi; and Boufflers commanded a separate army, though subject to the other's orders. As the French King took it for granted, that the confederates would have a superiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterprising genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between the Lys and the Scheld: he caused a disposition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; and laid injunctions on his general to act solely on the defensive. Mean while, the confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The first consisted of seventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, chiefly English and Scots, encamped at Aerseel, Caneghem, and Wouterghem, between Thield and Deynse, to be commanded by the King in person, assisted by the old Prince of Vaudemont. The other army, composed of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, encamped at Zellich and Hamme, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde, under the command of the Elector

of Bavaria, seconded by the Duke of Holstein-Ploen. Major-General Ellemburg was posted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten squadrons; and another body of Brandenburgh and Dutch troops, with a re-enforcement from Liege, lay encamped on the Mehaigne, under the conduct of the Baron de Heyden, lieutenant-general of Brandenburgh, and the Count de Berlo, general of the Liege cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July; and remained eight days at Aerseele. Then he marched to Bekelar, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, after having detached ten thousand men to re-enforce Boufflers, who had advanced to Pont d'Espieres: but he too retreating within his lines, the Elector of Bavaria passed the Scheld, and took post at Kirkhoven: at the same time the body under Heyden advanced towards Namur.

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§ XII. The King of England, having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the side of Flanders, directed the Baron de Heyden and the Earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons from the camp of the Elector of Bavaria, to invest Namur; and this service was performed on the third day of July: but, as the place was not entirely surrounded, Marechal Boufflers threw himself into it, with such a re-enforcement of dragoons as augmented the garrison to the number of fifteen thousand chosen men. King William and the Elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both sides of the Sambre and the Maese; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the sixth day of July under the direction of the celebrated engineer, General Coehorn.

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§ XIII. Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Roselaer with fifty battalions, and the like number of squadrons, understanding that Villeroy had passed the Lys, in order to attack him, took post with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerselee and Canneghem, and began to fortify his camp, with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreghem, he changed the disposition of his camp, and intrenched himself on both sides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's design was to surround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by M. Montal, who had already passed the Thieldt for that purpose, he resolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions and twelve pieces of cannon, to secure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to invest: but that general now

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ehanged his resolution, and undertook the siege of Dixmuyde, garrisoned by eight battalions of foot, and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Major-General Ellemburg, who, in six-and-thirty hours after the trenches were opened, surrendered himself and his soldiers prisoners of war. This scandalous example was followed by Colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynse on the same shameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the besiegers. In the sequel they were both tried for their misbehaviour: Ellemburg suffered death, and Ofarrel was broke with infamy. The Prince of Vaudemont sent a message to the French general, demanding the garrisons of those two places, according to a cartel which had been settled between the powers at war; but no regard was paid to this remonstrance. Villeroy, after several marches and countermarches, appeared before Brussels on the thirteenth day of August, and sent a letter to the Prince of Berghem, governor of that city, importing, that the King his master had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making reprisals for the damage done by the English fleet to the maritime towns of France: he likewise desired to know in what part the Electress of Bavaria resided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red-hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the Electress into a miscarriage. On the fifteenth, the French discontinued their firing, and retired to Enghien.

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S XIV. During these transactions, the siege of Namur was prosecuted with great ardor, under the eye of the King of England; while the garrison defended the place with equal spirit and perseverance. On the eighteenth day of July, Major-General Ramsay and Lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, English, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterscarp. They were sustained by six English battalions, commanded by Brigadier-General Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under Major-General Salisch. The assault was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage: but at last they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The King was so well pleased with the behaviour of the British troops, that during the action he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the Elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave English!" On the twenty-seventh, the English and Scots, under Ramsay and Hamilton, assaulted the counterscarp, where they met with prodigious opposition from the fire of the besieged. Nevertheless, being sustained by the Dutch, they made a lodgement on the foremost covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counterguard. The valor of the assailants on this occasion was altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the besieged

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was worthy of praise and admiration. Several persons were killed in the trenches at the side of the King, and among these Mr. Godfrey, deputy-governor of the Bank of England, who had come to the camp, to confer with his Majesty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the Elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that surrounded the works of the castle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal valor and success. They not only broke through the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impossible to effect a lodgement. On the second day of August, Lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the saillant angle of a demi-bastion, and lodged himself on the second counterscarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, Count Guiscard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the citadel, against which twelve batteries played, upon the thirteenth. The trenches, mean while, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who fired without ceasing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they sustained. At length, the annoyance became so dreadful from the unintermitting showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious sallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of King William.

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§ XV. After the bombardment of Brussels, Villeroy being re-enforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garrisons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety thousand men; and Prince Vaudemont being joined by the Prince of Hesse, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Masy, within five English miles of the besieging army. The King, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a signal to inform the garrison of their approach, left the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the covering-army, in order to oppose Villeroy, who being further re-enforced by a detachment from Germany declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the posture of the allies near Masy, he changed his resolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirtieth day of August, the besieged were summoned to surrender, by Count Horn, who, in a parley with the Count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, gave him to understand, that Mareschal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broke off, and the King resolved to proceed without delay to a general assault, which he had already planned with the Elector and his other generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the

second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgement in the breach of Terra-nova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while Colonel Marselly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians, and Brandenburgers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with such a warm reception, that the English grenadiers were repulsed, even after they had mounted the breach, Lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the head. Marselly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were slain: nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward intrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant-angle next to the breach, sword in hand; while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance, and plant their colors on the pallisadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the pallisadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgement in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians being thus sustained made their post good. The Major-generals La Cave and

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Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered way ; and though the general assault did not succeed in its full extent , the confederates remained masters of a very considerable lodgement , nearly an English mile in length . Yet this was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men , including many officers of great rank and reputation . During the action the elector of Bavaria signalized his courage in a very remarkable manner , riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire , giving his directions with notable presence of mind , according to the emergency of circumstances , animating the officers with praise and promise of preferment , and distributing handfuls of gold among the private soldiers .

§ XVI. On the first day of September , the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms , that their dead might be buried , the Count de Guiscard appearing on the breach , desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria . His Highness immediately mounting the breach , the French governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn ; but was given to understand , that if he intended to capitulate , he must treat for the whole . This reply being communicated to Boufflers , he agreed to the proposal : the cessation was prolonged , and that very evening the capitulation was finished . Villeroy , who laid encamped at Gemblours , was no sooner apprized of this event , by a triple discharge of all the artillery , and a running fire along the lines of the confederate army , than he passed the Sambre near Charleroy , with great precipitation ; and having re-enforced the garrison of Dinant , retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons .

On the fifth day of September, the French garrison, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Namur. Boufflers, in marching out, was arrested in the name of his Britannic Majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which the French King had detained, contrary to the cartel subsisting between the two nations. The Mareschal was not a little discomposed at this unexpected incident, and expostulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who assured him the King of Great-Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character. William even offered to set him at liberty, provided he would pass his word that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back, or that he himself would return in a fortnight. He said, that he could not enter into any such engagement, as he did not know his master's reasons for detaining the garrisons in question. He was, therefore, reconveyed to Namur; from thence removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reverence and respect, till the return of an officer whom he had dispatched to Versailles with an account of his captivity. Then he engaged his word, that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Versailles, Louis received him with very extraordinary marks of esteem and affection. He embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him a duke and peer of France; and presented him with

**BOOK I.** a very large sum, in acknowledgment of his signal services.

**§ XVII.** After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of King William, he retired to his house at Loo, which was his favorite place of residence, leaving the command to the Elector of Bavaria; and about the latter end of September both armies began to separate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were distributed in different garrisons; and a strong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The Marechal de Lorges, in the beginning of June, passed the Rhine at Philipburgh; and posting himself at Brucksal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of the same month the Prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppach, and on the eighth of July was re-enforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the Neighbourhood of Wiesloch. On the nineteenth, the French retired without noise, in the night, towards Manheim, where they repassed the river, without any interruption from the Imperial general: then he sent off a large detachment to Flanders. The same step was taken by the Prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the Elector of Saxony: but the court of Vienna was so dilatory in their preparations, that he was

not in a condition to act till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been sent ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with instructions relating to a pacification : but before he could obtain an audience, the Sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Mustapha, who resolved to prosecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new emperor afforded but a uncomfortable prospect to his people, considering that Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and besiege Azoph : so that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the succours which the Sultan demanded. Nevertheless, Mustapha and his vizier took the field before the Imperialists could commence the operations of the campaign, passed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by assault, stormed the camp of General Veterani, who was posted at Lugos with seven thousand men, and who lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a desperate defence : but the horse retreated to Carousebes, under the conduct of General Truchses. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orsowa. Their navy, mean while, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where several ships of the republic were destroyed, and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon : but, in order to balance this misfortune, these last obtained a complete victory over the Bashaw of Negropont in the Morea.

§ XVIII. The French King still maintained a secret negociation with the Duke of Savoy, whose

**BOOK I.** **1695.** conduct had been for some time mysterious and equivocal. Contrary to the opinion of his allies, he undertook the siege of Casal, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly supplied with ammunition and provision. The siege was begun about the middle of May ; and the place was surrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days, to the astonishment of the confederates, who did not know that this was a sacrifice by which the French court obtained the Duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, That the place should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor : That the fortifications should be demolished at the expense of the allies : that the garrison should remain in the fort till that work should be completed : and hostages were exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The Duke understood the art of procrastination so well, that September was far advanced before the place was wholly dismantled ; and then he was seized with an ague, which obliged him to quit the army.

**§ XIX.** In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Cadix, was created admiral, chief-commander, and captain-general of all his Majesty's ships employed, or to be employed in the Narrow-Seas, and the Mediterranean. He was re-enforced by four thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart; and seven thousand men Imperialists as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy, for the defence of Catalonia.

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These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the convoy of Admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalric and Castel-Follit: Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved to the Duke de Vendome, who no sooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he dismantled Ostalric and Castel-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The viceroy of Catalonia, and the English admiral having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle: but the viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the town was bombarded by the admiral. The miscarriage of this expedition was in a great measure owing to a misunderstanding between Russel and the court of Spain. The admiral complained that his Catholic Majesty had made no preparations for the campaign: that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: that he had taken no care to provide tents and provision for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Provence, where his fleet was endangered by a terrible tempest: then he steered down the Straits, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ships under the command of

BOOK I. 1691. Sir David Mitchel, until he should be joined by Sir Georg Rook, who was expected from England, and returned home with the rest of the combined squadrons.

§ XX. While Admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coasts were again insulted in the channel by a separate fleet, under the command of Lord Berkley of Stratton, assisted by the Dutch Admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Maloes, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the sixth, Granville underwent the same fate ; and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb-vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his infernals, and other machines for the service. On the first day of August the experiment was tried without success. The bombs did some execution : but two smoke-ships miscarried. The French had secured the Risbank and wooden forts with piles, booms, chains, and floating batteries, in such a manner, that the machine-vessels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities. The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired some credit with the King : he, on the other hand, treated them with disrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with Lord Berkley in his design

upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the sixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and set fire to it in different quarters: but the enemy had taken such precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

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§ XXI. A squadron had been sent to the West-Indies under the joint-command of Captain Robert Wilmot and Colonel Lilingston, with twelve hundred land-forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the president of St. Domingo; but, instead of proceeding against Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Port François, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lilingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land-officers lived in a state of perpetual dissension; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connexion with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the Commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulf of Florida. He himself died in the passage; and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce,

**BOOK I.** as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich vessels. The Marquis of Caermarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant-ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and from the East-Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamor against the commissioners of the Admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The Marquis of Caermarthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion: but the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malecontents of England; for they were actuated by a scandalous principle, which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of their country.

§ XXII. King William, after having conferred with the States of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament. While the nation was in good humor, it was supposed that they would return such members only as were well affected to the government;

whereas the present parliament might proceed in its inquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the crown, as their dependence was of such short duration. The parliament was, therefore, dissolved by proclamation; and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honored the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the Duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with Lord Brooke, at Warwick-castle, dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the Duke of Ormond, as Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech: he received from the Chancellor on his knees, the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common-Prayer, the cuts of the

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**BOOK** **i.** **1695.** university, and a pair of gold-fringe gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared: but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing, that there was a design to poison his Majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not favour much of magnanimity, the university chose Sir William Trumbal, Secretary of State, as one of their representatives in parliament.

§ XXIII. The Whig-interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malecontents; and when the parliament met, Foley was again chosen Speaker of the Commons. The King, in his first speech, extolled the valor of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed, that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making for taking the field early; intreated them to use dispatch; expressed his satisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their representatives in the House of Commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two Houses presented addresses of congratulation to the King, upon his late success; and promised

to assist him in prosecuting the war with vigor, the nation loudly exclaimed against the intolerable burdens and losses to which they were subjected, by a foreign scheme of politics, which, like an unfathomable abyss, swallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the King's endeavours to cover the disgusting side of his character had proved ineffectual: he was still dry, reserved, and forbidding; and the malecontents inveighed bitterly against his behaviour to the Princess Anne of Denmark. When the news of Namur's being reduced arrived in England, this lady congratulated him upon his success in a dutiful letter, to which he would not deign to send a reply, either by writing or message; nor had she or her husband been favored with the slightest mark of regard since his return to England. The members in the Lower-House, who had adopted opposing maxims, either from principle or resentment, resolved, that the crown should purchase the supplies with some concession in favor of the people. They, therefore, brought in the so long contested bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, and misprision of treason; and, considering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obstructing such a popular measure. The Lords inserted a clause, enacting, That a Peer should be tried by the whole peerage; and the Commons at once assented to this amendment. The bill provided, That persons indicted for high-treason, or misprision of treason, should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial; and indulged with counsel to plead in their defence;

**BOOK I.** **1695.** That no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to overt-acts; That in two or more distinct treasons of divers kinds, alledged in one bill or indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses: That no person should be prosecuted for any such crime, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in case of a design or attempt to assassinate or poison the King, where this limitation should not take place: That persons indicted for treason, or misprision of treason should be supplied with copies of the panel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial, and have process to compel their witnesses to appear: That no evidence should be admitted of any overt-act not expressly laid in the indictment: That this act should not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his Majesty's coin, his great-seal, privy-seal, sign-manual, or signet.

§ XXIV. This important affair being discussed, the Commons proceeded to examine the accounts and estimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become such a national grievance as could not escape the attention of parliament. The Lords prepared an address to the throne, for a proclamation to put a stop to the currency of diminished coin; and to this they desired the concurrence of the Commons. The Lower-House, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed

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a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the currency. Great opposition was made to a recoinage, which was a measure strenuously recommended and supported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occasion by the advice of the great mathematician Sir Isaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that should the silver-coin be called in, it would be impossible to maintain the war abroad, or prosecute foreign trade, in as much as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the soldier receive his subsistence: that a stop would be put to all mutual payment; and this would produce universal confusion and despair. Such a reformation could not be effected without some danger and difficulty: but it was become absolutely necessary, as the evil daily increased, and in a little time must have terminated in national anarchy. After long and vehement debates, the majority resolved to proceed with all possible expedition to a new coinage. Another question arose, Whether the new coin, in its different denominations, should retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the established standard be raised in value? The famous Locke engaged in this dispute against Mr. Lowndes, who proposed that the standard should be raised: the arguments of Mr. Locke were so convincing, that the committee resolved the established standard should be preserved with respect to weight and fineness. They likewise resolved, That the loss accruing to the revenue from clipped money, should be borne by the public. In order to prevent a total stagnation, they further resolved, That after an

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**B O O K** appointed day, no clipped money should pass in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payments into the Exchequer : That, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any sort should pass in any payment whatsoever; and that a third day should be fixed for all persons to bring in their clipped money to be recoin-ed, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed the King to issue a proclamation agreeably to these resolutions : and, on the nineteenth day of December, it was pu-blished accordingly. Such were the fears of the peo-ple, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole community. The adver-saries of the bill seized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the public. They inveighed against the ministry, as the authors of this national grievance ; they levelled their satire particularly at Montague ; and it required un-common fortitude and address to avert the most dan-gerous consequences of popular discontent. The House of Commons agreed to the following resolu-tions, That twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass-windows, to make up the loss on the clipped money : That the recompence for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all silver-coin, though of a courser alloy than the standard : That the collectors and receivers of his Majesty's aids and revenues should be enjoined to receive all such monies: That a reward of five per cent. should be given to all such persons as should bring in either milled or broad unclipped money,

to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom; That a reward of three pence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: That persons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpose: That commissioners should be appointed in every county, to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money in lieu of that which was diminished. A bill being prepared agreeably to these determinations, was sent up to the House of Lords, who had made some amendments, which the Commons rejected: but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another without the clauses which the Lords had inserted. They were again proposed in the Upper-House, and over-ruled by the majority; and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal assent, as did another bill, enlarging the time for purchasing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time, the King passed the bill of trials for high-treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the House of Commons, that the losses in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rise of guineas, might be taken into consideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas, for a certain time: and then the Commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin; a task in which they met with great opposition from

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**BOOK I.** some members, who alledged that it would foment the popular disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight-and-twenty shillings, and afterwards to six-and-twenty: at length a clause was inserted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, settling the price of a guinea at two-and-twenty shillings, and it naturally sunk to its original value of twenty shillings and six-pence. Many persons, however, supposing that the price of gold would be raised the first session, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the same supposition, encouraged by the malecontents, the new coined silver-money was referred, to the great detriment of commerce. The King ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the recoinage, which was executed with unexpected success; so that in less than a year, the currency of England which had been the worst, became the best coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period the attention of the Commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The Earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greatest share of the King's favor, had obtained a grant of some lordships in Derbyshire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county resolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the Lords of the Treasury. Sir William Williams, in the name of the rest, alledged, that the lordships in question were the ancient demesnes of the Prince of Wales, absolutely unalienable: that the revenues of those lordships supported the government of Wales, in paying the judges and other salaries: that

the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign subject; and that the people of the county were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed through the offices, had not the Welsh gentlemen addressed themselves by petition to the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, Mr. Price, a member of the House, harangued with great severity against the Dutch in general, and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the King's person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners being duly considered, were found so reasonable, that the Commons presented an address to the King, representing, That those manors had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the Princes of Wales for their support: That many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and Princes of Wales; and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under such tenure. They, therefore, besought his Majesty to recal the grant, which was in diminution of the honor and interest of the crown; and prayed, that the said manors and lands might not be alienated without the consent of parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the King, who promised to recal the grant which had given such offence to the Commons; and said he would find some other way of showing his favor to the Earl of Portland.

§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a

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**BOOK I.** national aversion to this nobleman : the malecontents inculcated a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his suggestions they imputed the act and patent in favor of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The subject was first started in the House of Lords, who invited the Commons to a conference : a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottish company : and the two Houses presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They represented, that, in consequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottish company, that kingdom would become a free port for all East and West-India commodities : that the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their merchandise for ; therefore, England would lose the benefit of foreign trade : besides , they observed that the Scots would smuggle their commodities into England , to the great detriment of his Majesty and his customs. To this remonstrance the King replied, That he had been ill served in Scotland ; but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed upon by the ministry of that kingdom : for , in a little time, he discarded the Marquis of Tweedale, and dismissed both

the Scottish secretaries of state, in lieu of whom he appointed Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Athol. Notwithstanding the King's answer, the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and, in consequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East-India Company, the House resolved, That the directors of the Scottish company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in administering and taking an oath *de fidei* in this kingdom; and that they should be impeached for the same. Meanwhile, Roderic Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody: but he made his escape, and could not be retaken, although the King, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were extremely incensed against the King, when they understood he had disowned their company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution; though it miscarried in the sequel, and had like to have produced abundance of mischief.

§ XXVII. The complaints of the English merchants who had suffered by the war were so loud at this juncture, that the Commons resolved to take their case into consideration. The House resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions: That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual

**BOOK I.** **1695.** preservation of commerce: That the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but none of them have seats in the House: That they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of King William as rightful and lawful; and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person. The King considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the Earl of Sunderland, who patronized this measure: but it was so popular in the House, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the Commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of King James had, upon the death of Queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of King William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain's, to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Captain Charnock, Captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but

even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French King could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the Earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the scheme of an invasion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators; assured them that King James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side: a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk: Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais, in his way to embark. Mean while, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very near completed a regiment of horse. Considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had enlisted four troops. Colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malecontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

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**BOOK** § XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers, in Romney-marsh, by one Captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating King William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnstone, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the King on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprise. When their complement was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling-actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken,

or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day of February, one Fisher informed the Earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the Earl was accosted by one Pendergraffs, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate King William. He said, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this first opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his Majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman catholic, but declared, that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honor and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The King had been so much used to fictitious plots, and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to these informations, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to Brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the King believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergraffs and

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La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergraff in particular for this instance of his probity ; but observed , that it must prove ineffectual , unless he would discover the names of the conspirators ; for, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergraff was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew , yet not before the King had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them , except with his own consent. As the King did not go to Richmond on the day appointed , the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday , when every man received his instructions. There they agreed , that after the perpetration of the parricide , they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith ; and then dispersing , enter London by different avenues. But , on the morning , when they understood that the guards were returned to their quarters , and the King's coaches sent back to the Mews , they were seized with a sudden damp , on the supposition that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself , and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night , however , a great number of them were apprehended , and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy-council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded ; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay , who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the Prince of Orange ; but he made good

his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

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§ XXIX. This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarce reached Calais, when the Duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aide-de-camp from Flanders to King William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with above fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them: but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been drafted: the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star which ruled the destiny of James had blasted this, and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrass were apprehended together. This last insisted upon the King's promise, that he should not be compelled to

**BOOK** give evidence ; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession ; and they were both admitted as evidences for the crown.

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§ XXX. After their examination, the King, in a speech to both Houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion : he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two Houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their abhorrence of the villainous and barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They assured him they would to their utmost defend his life, and support his government against the late King James, and all other enemies ; and declared, that, in case his Majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and assured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The Commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They brought in another, providing, That in case of his

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Majesty's death, the parliament then in being should continue until dissolved by the next heir in succession to the crown, established by act of parliament: That if his Majesty should chance to die between two parliaments, that which had been last dissolved should immediately re-assemble, and sit for the dispatch of national affairs. They voted an address, to desire, That his Majesty would banish by proclamation, all papists to the distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman catholics and nonjurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the King and his government; and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person. This was signed by all the members then present: but, as some had absented themselves on frivolous pretences, the House ordered, That in sixteen days the absentees should either subscribe, or declare their refusal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction within the limited time, the Speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer; and the clerk of the House attended such as pretended to be ill in town. The absentees, finding themselves pressed in this manner, thought proper to sail with the stream, and sign the association, which was presented to the King by the Commons in a body, with a request, that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The King received them with uncommon complacency; declared, that

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**B O O K** **J.** **1695.** he heartily entered into the same association ; that he should be always ready to venture his life with his good subjects , against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion , laws , and liberties of England ; and he promised that this , and all other associations , should be lodged among the records in the Tower of London. Next day the Commons resolved , That whoever should affirm an association was illegal should be deemed a promoter of the designs of the late King James , and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The Lords followed the example of the Lower House in drawing up an association ; but the Earl of Nottingham , Sir Edward Seymour , and Mr. Finch , objected to the words Rightful and Lawful , as applied to his Majesty . They said as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him , they would yield obedience , though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful King . Nothing could be more absurd than this distinction started by men who actually constituted part of the administration ; unless they supposed that the right of King William expired with Queen Mary . The Earl of Rochester proposed an expedient in favor of such tender consciences , by altering the words that gave offence ; and this was adopted accordingly . Fifteen of the peers and ninety - two commoners signed the association with reluctance . It was , however , subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom ; and the bishops drew up a form for the clergy , which was signed by a great majority . The Commons brought

\* Burnet. Oldmixon. Boyer. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

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in a bill, declaring all men incapable of public trust, or of sitting in parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the council issued an order for renewing all the commissions in England, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from the service as disaffected persons.

§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the Commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the sum of two millions, five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the Land Bank, because established on land-securities. This scheme, said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlain, was patronized by the Earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley: so that it seemed to be a Tory-plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party.<sup>1</sup> The Bank of England

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<sup>1</sup> The Commons resolved, That a fund redeemable by parliament be settled in a national land-bank, to be raised by new subscriptions: That no person be concerned in both banks at the same time: That the duties upon coals, culm, and tonnage of ships, be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March: That the sum of two millions, five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds be raised on this perpetual fund, redeemable by parliament: That the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land-securities, or to the government in the Exchequer: That for making up the fund of interest for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass-wares, stone, and earthen bottles, granted before to the King for a term of years, be continued to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors: That a further duty be laid upon stone and earthen ware, and another upon tobacco-pipes. This bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a-year upon

**BOOK** I. **1696.** petitioned against this bill, and were heard by their counsel : but their representations produced no effect, and the bill having passed through both Houses, received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh day of April the King closed the session with a short but gracious speech ; and the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of June.

§ XXXII. Before this period some of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of land-securities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full by the first day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these : An act for voiding all the elections of parliament-men, at which the elected had been at any expense in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. Another against unlawful and double returns. A third, for the more easy recovery of small tithes. A fourth, to prevent marriages, without licence or bans. A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their personal estates as they should think fit. This law was in bar of a custom that had prevailed in that country. The widows and younger children claimed a share of the effects, called their Reasonable part, although the effects had been otherwise disposed of by will or deed. The parliament likewise passed an act, for preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation there-of from Ireland. An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. An act for regulating injuries. An act for encouraging the Greenland-trade. An act of indulgence, to the Quakers, that their solemn affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath. And an act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had passed for the better regulating elections for members of parliament ; but the royal assent was denied. The question was put in the House of Commons, That whosoever advised his Majesty not to give his assent to that bill was an enemy to his country ; but it was rejected by a great majority.

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Magdalen-college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion: the next were Lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys, which last had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late servant to Captain Porter. They were found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the Sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen or heard of any commission from King James for assassinating the Prince of Orange: Charnock, in particular, observed, that he had received frequent assurances of the King's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form. Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were tried in April. The first from mean beginnings had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interests of King James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the present government, as one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter, and Blair, another evidence, deposed, that Sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commission from King James; and that he knew of the assassination-plot, though not engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed papists. The curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner's house, declared upon oath, that after the Revolution he used to pray for King William; and that he had

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often heard Sir John Friend say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Hoadly, father of the present Bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Friend himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a treasonable consult could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord-Chief-Justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III. yet, if the design or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the king, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high-treason, though no war be actually levied. The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the Revolution. The judge's explanation influenced the jury, who after some deliberation found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned, not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the King's life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner having been bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence: but the judge acted as counsel for the crown;

and the jury decided by the hints they received from the bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent purposed by King James, and therefore had made no preparations: that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination-scheme: that he died in the communion of the church of England, and laid down his life chearfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenor of the King's commission, which he saw, was general, directed to all his loving subjects, to raise and levy war against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither saw nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the Prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design: but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace, with an imposition of hands: a public insult on the government which did no pass unnoticed. Those three clergymen were presented by the grand-jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate: but, Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the

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imposition of bands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans, and twelve other bishops subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed by the prisoners of the heinous crimes for which they suffered. In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the King's Bench; and convicted on the joint testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergraffs. Some favorable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the design against the King's life was very defective: many persons of reputation declared he was an honest, good-natured, inoffensive man: and he himself concluded his defence with the most solemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen: but all their interest proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper, which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewise delivered declarations to the sheriff, the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from King James, to assassinate the Prince of Orange: the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the other asserting that he, the best of kings, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the King at his landing: but declared, he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the

whole course of his life. On the contrary, he said, he had endeavoured to prevent bloodshed as much as lay in his power; and that he would not kill the most miserable creature in the world, even though such an act would save his life, restore his sovereign, and make him one of the greatest men in England. Rookwood alledged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the service was much against his judgment and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the Prince of Orange, who, as a soldier, he said, ought to have considered his case before he signed his death-warrant: he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him sensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so as he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial, was Mr. Cooke, son of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings at the King's-head tavern in Leadenhall-street, with the Lords Aylesbury and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who swore that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were present. The prisoner himself solemnly protested that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces; that he did not so much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topic of

**BOOK** conversation; and that he had never seen Goodman at the King's head. He declared his intention of receiving the blessed sacrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these affevrations. The Solicitor-General Hawles, and Lord Chief-Justice Treby, treated him with great severity in the prosecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation the court-agents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment. From the whole tenor of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invasion: that his partisans in England had made preparations for joining him on his arrival; that a few desperadoes of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of King William: that in prosecuting the conspirators, the court had countenanced informers: that the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners: in a word, that the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom.

§ XXXIII. The warmth, however, manifested on this occasion may have been owing to national resentment of the purposed invasion. Certain it is, the two Houses of parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The Lords besought his Majesty, in a solemn address, to appoint a day of

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thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies, and this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Russel, leaving a squadron for observation on the French coast, returned to the Downs: but Sir Cloudeley Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was set on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation. The generals of the allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly design upon the life of King William, as they took it for granted that Louis was accessory to the scheme of assassination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, designing, when the allies should be enfeebled by the absence of the British troops, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the Earl of Athlone and Monsieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, who commanded the allies, sent a strong detachment of horse, drafted from Brussels and the neighbouring garrisons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charleroy; while they assembled forty squadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He

**BOOK** forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two generals joined their forces and returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the republic of Venice had deferred acknowledging King William: but now they sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, consisting of Signiors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the first day of May had a public audience. The King, on this occasion, knighted Soranzo as the senior ambassador, and presented him with the sword, according to custom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the same regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence; and embarking on the seventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder in the evening, under convoy of Vice-Admiral Aylmer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk, and some attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterprising genius<sup>4</sup>.

§ XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be assembled: but no transaction of consequence distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme

<sup>4</sup> Some promotions were made before the King left England. George Hamilton, third son of the duke of that name, was, for his military services in Ireland and Flanders, created Earl of Orkney. Sir John Lowther was ennobled by the title of Baron Lowther, and Viscount Lonsdale; Sir John Thompson made Baron of Haversham, and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the commissioners of Trade and Plantation.

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of Louis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of King William were defeated by want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective : the land-bank failed, and the national bank sustained a rude shock in its credit. The loss of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions, two hundred thousand pounds ; and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not for some months supply the circulation, especially as great part of the new money was kept up by those who received it in payment, or disposed of at an unreasonable advantage. The French King, having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the arts of private negotiation. While his minister d'Avaux pressed the King of Sweden to offer his mediation, he sent Callieres to Holland, with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a treaty. He took it for granted, that as the Dutch were a trading people, whose commerce had greatly suffered in the war, they could not be averse to a pacification ; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper with the malecontents of the republic, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the Stadholder. Callieres met with a favorable reception from the States, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the consent and concurrence of King William and the rest of the allies. Louis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negotiation, pursued offensive measures

**BOOK I.** in Catalonia, where his general the Duke de Vendome attacked and worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalrick, though the action was not decisive; for that General was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts against their intrenchments. On the twentieth day of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philippsburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to intrench themselves, under the command of the Prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French general, after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repass the river. Then he detached a body of horse to Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spires, Franckendahl, Worms, and Osthofen. On the last day of August the Prince of Baden retaliated the insult, by passing the Rhine at Mentz and Cocsheim. On the tenth he was joined by General Thungen, who commanded a separate body, together with the militia of Suabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had reassembled: but they were posted in such a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Having therefore, cannonaded them for some days, scoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little castle of Wiezengen, he repassed the river at Worms, on the seventh day of October: the French likewise crossed at Philippsburgh, in hopes of surprising General Thungen, who had taken post in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh: but he retired to Eppingen before their arrival, and in a little time both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. Peter,

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the Czar of Muscovy, carried on the siege of Azoph with such vigor, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, after the Russians had defeated a great convoy sent to its relief. The court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muscovite emperor: but, they did not exert themselves in taking advantage of the disaster which the Turks had undergone. The Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Marosch till the nineteenth day of July, then they made a feint of attacking Temiswaar: but they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiving advice that the Grand Signor intended to besiege Titul. On the twenty-first day of August the two armies were in sight of each other. The Turkish horse attacked the Imperialists in a plain near the river Begue; but were repulsed. The Germans next day made a show of retreating, in hopes of drawing the enemy from their intrenchments. The stratagem succeeded. On the twenty-sixth, the Turkish army was in motion. A detachment of the Imperialists attacked them in flank, as they marched through a wood. A very desperate action ensued, in which the Generals Heusler and Poland, with many other gallant officers, lost their lives. At length, the Ottoman horse were routed: but the Germans were so roughly handled, that on the second day after the engagement they retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their intrenchments.

§ XXXV. In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The Duke of Savoy, who had for some time been engaged in a secret negociation

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with France, at length embraced the offers of that crown, and privately signed a separate treaty of peace at Loretto, to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French King engaged to present him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the Duke of Burgundy and the Princess of Piedmont, as soon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the Pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of seeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William being apprized of this negotiation, communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Galway, his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the Duke upon this defection: but he persisted in denying any such correspondence, until the advance of the French army enabled him to avow it, without fearing the resentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men; an army greatly superior to that of the confederates. Then the Duke imparted to the ministers of the allies the proposals which France had made; represented the superior strength of her army; the danger to which he was exposed; and finally his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except King William, expatiating on the same topics, and soliciting their consent. Though each in particular refused

to concur, he on the twenty-third day of August signed the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private. The Emperor was no sooner informed of his design, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the Count Mansfeldt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the King of the Romans and the Princess of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his subsidy: but the Duke had already settled his terms with France, from which he would not recede. Prince Eugene, though his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young Prince de Commercy was so provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to single combat, and the Duke accepted of his challenge: but the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use: but Lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milanese, for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Gemblours when the Duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the King of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he dissembled his anger, and listened to the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was,

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**BOOK** That within a limited time the allies should evacuate  
 I. the Duke's dominions, otherwise they should be  
 1696. expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the Duke, as generalissimo of the French King, entered that duchy, and undertook the siege of Valentia; so that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garrison of Valentia, consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French protestants, made an obstinate defence; and the Duke of Savoy prosecuted the siege with uncommon impetuosity. But, after the trenches had been open for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his Catholic Majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. This agreement imported, That there should be a suspension of arms until a general peace could be effected; and, That the Imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries. Christendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieski King of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe interested themselves warmly in the contention.

§ XXXVI. Nothing of consequence had been lately achieved by the naval force of England. When the conspiracy was first discovered, Sir George Rook

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Rook had received orders to return from Cadix; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of Admiralty, Lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the fleet; and in the month of June set sail towards Ushant, in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprises of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected, and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms, for the defence of the maritime places. In the month of May Rear-Admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron; in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk: but that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltic, under a convoy of five frigates. These last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships: but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates; turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

§ XXXVII. The parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September: and Lord Murray,

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**BOOK I.** **1696.** secretary of state, now Earl of Tullibardine, presided as King's Commissioner. Though that kingdom was exhausted by the war, and two successive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the court-measures. The members of parliament signed an association like that of England. They granted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and properties, in case his Majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all persons in public trust to sign the association; and then the parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be entirely appeased. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, to be Lord Justice and chief governor of that kingdom, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. The parliament met in June: the Commons expelled Mr Sanderson, the only member of that House who had refused to sign the association; and adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were appointed Lords Justices, and signified the King's pleasure that they should adjourn. In the beginning of December the Chancellor died of an apoplexy.

§ XXXVIII. King William being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of August repaired to his palace at Loo, where he

enjoyed his favorite exercise of stag-hunting. He visited the court of Brandenburgh at Cleves; conferred with the States of Holland at the Hague; and, embarking for England, landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. The domestic economy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the sinking of public credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a recoinage. These grievances were with difficulty removed by the clear apprehension, the enterprising genius, the unshaken fortitude of Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, operating upon a national spirit of adventure, which the monied-interest had produced. The King opened the session of parliament on the twentieth day of October, with a speech, importing, That overtures had been made for a negociation; but that the best way of treating with France would be sword in hand. He, therefore, desired they would be expeditious in raising the supplies for the service of the ensuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared, that the civil list could not be supported without their assistance. He recommended the miserable condition of the French protestants to their compassion. He desired they would contrive the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He observed, that unanimity and dispatch were now more than ever necessary for the honor, safety, and advantage of England. The Commons having taken this speech into consideration, resolved, That they would support his Majesty and his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war: That the standard of gold

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**BOOK** and silver should not be altered: and, That they would make good all parliamentary funds. Then they presented an address, in a very spirited strain, declaring, that notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the Commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a safe and honorable peace. They, therefore, renewed their assurances, that they would support his Majesty against all his enemies at home and abroad. The House of Lords delivered another to the same purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be necessary to his Majesty's honor, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The Commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered two seditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They resolved, that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated several duties for this purpose.

§ XXXIX. With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half-guineas, as the extravagant price of those coins, which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remedying the ill state of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the preceding session, for laying duties on low wines and spirits of

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the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all servants receiving four pounds per annum, as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds were taxed at one half-penny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the Commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burden. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eight pence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities and monies borrowed on the credit of the Exchequer were transferred to this aid. The Treasury was enabled to borrow a million and a half at eight per cent. and to circulate Exchequer-bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three-shilling-aid, was appropriated. The Commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoining the hammered money, and the recompence

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**BOOK** for bringing in plate to the Mint. This sum was raised by a tax or duty upon wrought-plate, paper, pasteboard, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services, and the present languishing state of the Bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, That it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in Bank-bills or notes: That effectual provision should be made by parliament, for paying the principal of all such tallies as should be subscribed into the Bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued: That an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such tallies: and, That the continuance of the Bank should be prolonged to the first day of August, in the year one thousand, seven hundred, and ten: That all assignments of orders on tallies subscribed into the Bank should be registered in the Exchequer: That, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new subscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent. and what might exceed that value should be divided among the old members: That all the interest due on those tallies which might be subscribed into the Bank-stock, at the time appointed for subscriptions to the end of the last preceding quarter on each tally, should be allowed as principal: That liberty should be given by parliament to enlarge the number of Bank-bills, to the value of the sum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds; provided they should be obliged to answer

such bills and demands, and in default thereof, be answered by the Exchequer, out of the first money due to them: That no other bank should be erected or allowed by act of parliament, during the continuance of the Bank of England: That this should be exempted from all tax or imposition: That no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein: That provision should be made to prevent the officers of the Exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the Bank: That care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any Bank-bills or notes: That the estate and interest of each member in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: That no contract made for any Bank-stock to be bought or sold should be valid in law or equity, unless actually registered in the Bank-books within seven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days after the contract should be made. A bill upon these resolutions was brought in, under the direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer: it related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco; and comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty upon salt, for two years and three quarters. All the several branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the General Mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, That the tallies should bear eight per cent. interest: That from the tenth of June for five years they

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**1696.** **§ XXX.** should bear no more than six percent. interest: and, That no premium or discount upon them should be taken. In case of the general fund's proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, That every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid: but should the fund produce more than the interest, the surplus was destined to operate as a sinking fund for the discharge of the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the land-bank, additional duties were laid upon leather: the time was enlarged for persons to come in and purchase the annuities payable by several former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

**§ XL.** Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never was the government served by such a set of enterprising undertakers. The Commons having received a message from the King, touching the condition of the civil list, resolved, That a sum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted for the support of the civil list for the ensuing year, to be raised by a malt tax, and additional duties upon rum, sweets, cider, and perry. They likewise resolved, That an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be laid upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Provision was made for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The Treasury was empowered to issue an additional number of

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Exchequer-bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds, every hundred pounds bearing interest at the rate of five-pence a day, and ten per cent for circulation: finally, in order to liquidate the transport-debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money-bill was brought in, to oblige pedlars and hawkers to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raised up by usurers and extortioners from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burden upon burden, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained.

§ XLI. The public credit being thus bolstered up by the singular address of Mr. Montague, and the bills passed for the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the Commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information

**BOOK I.** in writing, which was sent abroad to his Majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided into two parties, known by the names of compounders and Noncompounders. The first, headed by the Earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from King James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honor and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russel, of having made their peace with King James, and engaged to act for his interest. Mean while his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for Lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory: but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared: so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russel acquainted the House of Commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick: he therefore, desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character.

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Mr. Secretary Trumball produced the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered, That Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the House. There he was exhorted by the Speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, except with the proviso that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should have deliberated on his request. Then he was called in again, and the Speaker told him, he might deserve the favor of the House, by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the House. This favor being denied, he again insisted upon having security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. The House voted, That his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the House, and others, upon hear-say, were false and scandalous, contrived to undermine the government, and create jealousies between the King and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

§ XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attain him of high treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the House: so that he

**B O O K** was surprised into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the House; and the bill being read in his hearing, the Speaker called upon the King's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alledging, that their client had not received the least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The House, after a long debate, resolved, That he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence: that the counsel for the King should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted; and an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the grand jury was produced; and Porter was examined as evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read; and one Roe testified, that Dighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The King's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this proposal: they affirmed, that a deposition taken when the party affected by it was not present to cross-examine the deposer, could not be admitted in a cause of five shillings

value: that though the House was not bound by the rules of inferior courts, it was nevertheless bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of justice: that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in such a case, but that of living witnesses; and that the examination of a person who is absent was never read to supply his testimony. The dispute between the lawyers on this subject gave rise to a very violent debate among the Members of the House. Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Manly, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and all the leaders of the Tory-party, argued against the hardship and injustice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonstrated that it would be a step contrary to the practice of all courts of judicature, repugnant to the common notions of justice and humanity, diametrically opposite to the last act for regulating trials in cases of high treason, and of dangerous consequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, Lord Cutts, Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Mr. Montague, Mr. Smith of the Treasury, and Trevor, the Attorney-General, affirmed, that the House was not bound by any form of law whatsoever: that this was an extraordinary case, in which the safety of the government was deeply concerned: that though the common law might require two evidences in cases of treason, the House had a power of deviating from those rules in extraordinary cases; that there was no reason to doubt of Sir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conspiracy: that he or his friends had tampered with Porter; and that there were

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**BOOK I.** **1696.** strong presumptions to believe the same practices had induced Goodman to abscond. In a word, the Tories, either from party or patriotism, strenuously asserted the cause of liberty and humanity, by those very arguments which had been used against them in the former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more success, espoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length, the question was put, Whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the grand jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: lastly, the King's counsel insisted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the same conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected, That if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to answer the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained a second victory. The record was read, and the King's counsel proceeded to call on some of the jury who served on Cooke's trial, to affirm that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholomew Shower said, he would submit it to the consideration of the House, whether it was just that the evidence against one person should

conclude against another standing at a different bar, C H A P.  
in defence of his life? The parties were again or- v.  
dered to withdraw; and from this point arose a third  
debate which ended, as the two former, to the  
disadvantage of the prisoner. The jury being ex- 1696.  
amined, Mr. Serjeant Gould moved, that Mr. Ver-  
non might be desired to produce the intercepted  
letter from Sir John Fenwick to his lady. The pri-  
soner's counsel warmly opposed this motion, insisting  
upon their proving it to be his hand-writing be-  
fore it could be used against him; and no further  
stress was laid on this evidence. When they were  
called upon to enter on his defence, they pleaded in-  
capacity to deliver matters of such importance after  
they had been fatigued with twelve hours attendance.

§ XLIII. The House resolved to hear such evi-  
dence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His  
counsel declared, that they had nothing then to pro-  
duce but the copy of a record; and the second reso-  
lution was, that he should be brought up again  
next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the  
bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence.  
He observed, that the bill under consideration af-  
fected the lives of the subjects; and such precedents  
were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forth-  
coming, in order to be tried by the ordinary me-  
thods of justice: that he was actually under pro-  
cess, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial:  
that if there was sufficient clear evidence against  
him, as the King's Serjeant had declared, there was  
no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of  
such a trial as was the birth-right of every British

**BOOK I.** subject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of such a trial: that the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason proved the great tenderness of the laws which affected the life of the subject: and he expressed his surprise that the very parliament which had passed that law, should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives; and some of them had been reversed in the sequel, as arbitrary and unjust. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not alledge or say, that Sir John Fenwick was guilty of the treason for which he had been indicted; a circumstance which prevented him from producing witnesses to that and several matters upon which the King's council had expatiated. He said, they had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alledged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more severe than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence; especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature, not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He observed, that the indictment mentioned a conspiracy to call in a foreign power;

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power; but, as this conspiracy had not been put in practice, such an agreement was not a sufficient overt-act of treason, according to the opinion of Hawles, the Solicitor-General, concerned in this very prosecution, So saying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had published on the cases of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, and others who had suffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (said he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war, is not treason without actually levying war; a sentiment in which he concurred with Lord Coke, and Lord Chief Justice Hale. He concluded with saying, "We know at present on what ground we stand; by the statute of Edward III. we know what treason is; by the two statutes of Edward VI. and the late act, we know what is proof; by the magna charta we know we are to be tried *per legem terrae & per judicium parium*, by the law of the land and the judgement of our peers: but, if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall neither know what is treason, what is evidence, nor how, nor where we are to be tried." — He was seconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who spoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were answered by the King's counsel. The arguments in favor of the bill imported, that the parliament would not interpose except in extraordinary cases; that here the evidence necessary in inferior courts being defective, the parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in punishing an offender, who would otherwise

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**BOOK** escape with impunity: that as the law stood, he was but a sorry politician that could not ruin the government, and yet elude the statute of treason: that if a plot, after being discovered, should not be thoroughly prosecuted, it would strengthen and grow upon the administration, and probably at length subvert the government: that it was notorious that parties were forming for King James; persons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invasion was threatened; therefore, this was a proper time for the parliament to exert their extraordinary power: that the English differed from all other nations, in bringing the witnesses and the prisoner face to face, and requiring two witnesses in cases of treason: nor did the English law itself require the same proof in some cases, as in others; for one witness was sufficient in felony, as well as for the treason of coining: that Fenwick was notoriously guilty, and deserved to feel the resentment of the nation: that he would have been brought to exemplary punishment in the ordinary course of justice, had he not eluded it, by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witness. If this reasoning be just, the House of Commons has a right to act in diametrical opposition to the laws in being; and is vested with a despotic power over the lives and fortunes of their constituents, for whose protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the possibility of a parliament debauched by the arts of corruption, into servile compliance with the designs of an arbitrary prince, and tremble for the consequence. The debate being finished, the prisoner was, at the desire of Admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the

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imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hear-say: but he desired to be excused on account of the risque he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice.

§ XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the House, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the Speaker asking, If the question should be put for its being committed? the House was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles, the Solicitor - General, affirmed, that the House in the present case, should act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt said, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by magna charta, by a jury, the birth-right and darling privilege of an Englishman, or *per legem terre*, which includes impeachments in parliament: that it was a strange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved: that he never heard of a jurymen who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not empowered to save the innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttelton was of opinion, that the parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe asserted, that to do a thing of this nature, because the parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: that what was justice and equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity every where:

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**BOOK** that one bad precedent in parliament was of worse consequence than a hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, because it could establish tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England, was the *ultimum remedium & peccatum*, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed that by this precedent the House overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man upon one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The Commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denied that the parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony: but then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the parliament by bill, but only in the House of Lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and Colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had

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no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the House of Lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known since the Restoration. Bishop Burnet signalized his zeal for the government, by a long speech in favor of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of seven voices; and one-and-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the decision.

§ XLV. When the bill received the royal assent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the Lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The Peers gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favor. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the ax, in consideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he

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**BOOK I.** delivered to the Sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended invasion, until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he engaged in any shape for the service of King James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in parliament; protested before God, 'that the information he gave to the ministry he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed, that he might have expected mercy from the Prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in saving his life, by preventing the execution of a design which had been formed against it; a circumstance which in all probability induced the late conspirators to conceal their purpose of assassination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to King James, and prayed Heaven for his speedy restoration.

§ XLVI. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the Earl of Monmouth had set on foot some practices against the Duke of Shrewsbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to Sir William Perkins, had been entertained as a spy by this nobleman, who finding his intelligence of very little use or importance, dismissed him as a troublesome dependent. Then he had recourse to the Earl of Monmouth, into whom he infused unfavorable sentiments of the Duke; insinuating, that he had made great discoveries, which, from sinister motives, were suppressed. Monmouth communicated those impressions to the Earl of Portland, who enlisted Smith as one of his intelligencers. Copies of the letters he had sent to the Duke of Shrewsbury were delivered to Secretary

Trumball, sealed up for the perusal of his Majesty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the Duke of Shrewsbury in his discoveries, the Earl of Monmouth resolved to seize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the channel of the Duchess of Norfolk, exhorted Lady Fenwick to prevail upon her husband to persist in his accusation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the proposal with disdain, as a scandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was so incensed at his refusal, that when the bill of attainder appeared in the House of Lords, he spoke in favor of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew, the Earl of Carlisle, to move the House that Sir John might be examined touching any advices that had been sent to him with relation to his discoveries. Fenwick being interrogated accordingly, gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's scheme, which was calculated to ruin the Duke of Shrewsbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The Duchess of Norfolk and a confidant were examined, and confirmed the detection. The House called for Smith's letters, which were produced by Sir William Trumball. The Earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and dismissed from all his employments. He was released, however, at the end of the session; and the court made up all his losses in private, lest he should be tempted to join the opposition.

§ XLVII. The Whigs, before they were glutted with the sacrifice of Fenwick, had determined to

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**B O O K** I. **1697.** let loose their vengeance upon Sir George Rook, who was a leader in the opposite interest. Sir Cloudesly Shovel had been sent with a squadron to look into Brest, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a descent upon England; but this information was false. They were busy in equipping an armament for the West-Indies, under the command of M. Pointis, who actually sailed to the coast of New-Spain, and took the city of Carthagena. Rook had been ordered to intercept the Toulon-squadron in its way to Brest; but his endeavours miscarried. The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, resolved to inquire why this fleet was not intercepted? Rook underwent a long examination, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but, nothing appearing to the prejudice of the Admiral, the House thought proper to desist from their prosecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic economy of the nation<sup>7</sup>: among others, they passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors, in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever since the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded a asylum to debtors, and were become receptacles

<sup>7</sup> Burnet. Kennet. Oldmixon. State-Trials. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

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of desperate persons, who presumed to set the law at defiance. One of these places, called White-Friars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage: but this law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the sixteenth day of April, the King closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for the great supplies they had so chearfully granted, and expressing his satisfaction at the measures they had taken for retrieving the public credit. Before he quitted the kingdom, he ventured to produce upon the scene the Earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto prompted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now sworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of Lord-Chamberlain, which had been resigned by the Earl of Dorset, a nobleman of elegant talents, and invincible indolence; severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

§ XLVIII. William having made some promotions<sup>1</sup>, and appointed a regency, embarked on the twenty-sixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general

<sup>1</sup> Somers was created a baron, and appointed Lord-Chancellor of England; Admiral Russel was dignified with the title of Earl of Orford. In February the Earl of Aylesbury, who had been committed on account of the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to Lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account.

**B O O K** peace. By this time, the preliminaries were settled, between Callieres the French minister, and Mr. Dyk-veldt in behalf of the States-General, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The Emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions: yet, his Imperial Majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and provided the King of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna presented a joint memorial, pressing his Imperial Majesty to accept the mediation without reserve, and name a place at which the congress might be opened. The Emperor complied with reluctance, On the fourteenth day of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day signified their assent in form to Mr. Lillienroot, the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France would agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list, which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The Emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Frankfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French King suggested, that no place would be more proper than a place belonging to King William, called Newburgh-House, situated

between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were the Earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson: France sent Harlay and Crecy to the assistance of Callieres. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the misery in which it had involved his kingdom; but in desiring a peace he was actuated by another motive. The King of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French monarch had an eye to the succession. This aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted; therefore he eagerly sought a peace, that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain, as soon as Charles should expire. The Emperor harboured the same design upon the Spanish crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance. Besides, he foresaw he should in a little time be able to act against France with an augmented force. The Czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raise the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negociation with the circles of the Rhine, for a considerable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of securing a barrier in the Netherlands. King William insisted upon the French King's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Callieres, in the name of his

**BOOK** master, agreed to the following preliminaries : That  
 I. the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be  
 1692. the basis of this negociation : that Strasburgh should  
 be restored to the Empire, and Luxemburgh to the  
 Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and  
 all places taken by the French in Catalonia since  
 the treaty of Nimeguen : that Dinant should be  
 ceded to the Bishop of Liege, and all re-unions since  
 the treaty of Nimeguen be made void : that the  
 French King should make restitution of Lorraine ;  
 and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge  
 the Prince of Orange as King of Great-Britain, with-  
 out condition and reserve. The conferences were  
 interrupted by the death of Charles XI. King of  
 Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles,  
 then a minor : but the Queen and five senators,  
 whom the late King had by will appointed admi-  
 nistrators of the government, resolved to pursue the  
 mediation, and sent a new commission to Lillienroot,  
 for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated  
 with the consent of all parties, the plenipotentiaries  
 of the Emperor delivered their master's demands to  
 the mediator, on the twenty-second day of May,  
 and several German ministers gave in the preten-  
 sions of the respective princes whom they repre-  
 sented.

**§ XLIX.** Meanwhile, the French King, in the  
 hope of procuring more favorable terms, resolved  
 to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Cata-  
 lonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the Prince  
 of Conti to the throne of Poland ; an event which  
 would have greatly improved the interest of France

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in Europe. Louis had got the start of the confederates in Flanders, and sent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The campaign was opened with the siege of Aeth, which was no sooner invested, than King William, having recovered of an indisposition, took the field, and had an interview with the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but contented himself with taking possession of an advantageous camp, where he covered Brussels, which Villeroy and Boufflers had determined to besiege. In Catalonia, the Duke of Vendome invested Barcelona, in which there was a garrison of ten thousand regular soldiers, besides five thousand burghers, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The governor of the place was the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who had served in Ireland, and been vested with the command of the Imperial troops which were sent into Spain. The French general being re-enforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with surprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valor of the defendants. At length the enemy surprised and routed the viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed with this victory, stormed the outworks, which had been long battered with the cannon. The dispute was very bloody and obstinate; but the French, by dint of numbers, made themselves masters of the covered-way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars,

**BOOK** and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the Prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the last extremity. The court of Madrid, however, unwilling to see the place entirely ruined, as in all probability it would be restored at the peace, dispatched an order to the Prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honorable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed viceroy of the province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been before averse to a negotiation.

§ L. Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Cartagena, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice, that an English squadron under Admiral Nevil had arrived in the West-Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for the straits of Bahama. On the twenty-second day of May he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken; but such was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he escaped, after having been pursued five days during which the English and Dutch rear-admirals sprang their fore-top-masts, and received other damage, so as that they could not proceed. Then Nevil steered to Cartagena, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a second time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their share of the plunder. This was really the case:

they had in a great measure contributed to the success of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the English admiral discovered eight sail of their ships, two of which were forced on shore and destroyed, two taken, and the rest escaped. Then he directed his course to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the governor, Sir William Beeston, detached Rear-Admiral Meeze with some ships and forces, to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly surprised, burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expedition Nevil proceeded to the Savannah, on purpose to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the instructions he had received from the King: but the governor of the place, and the general of the plate-fleet, suspecting such an offer, would neither suffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now sailed through the gulf of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin, and the command of the fleet devolved on Captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twenty-fourth day of October, with a shattered squadron, half-manned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis steering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conceptione, at a time when a stout English Squadron commanded by Commodore Norris lay at anchor in the bay of St. John. This officer being informed of the arrival of the French fleet, at first concluded, that it was the squadron of M. Nesmond come to attack him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to

**BOOK** put the place in a posture of defence, but afterwards,  
 1. understanding that it was Pointis returning with the  
 1897. spoil of Catthagena, he called a council of war, and  
 proposed to go immediately in quest of the enemy. He was, however, over-ruled by a majority, who  
 gave it as their opinion, that they should remain where  
 they were, without running unnecessary hazard. By  
 virtue of this scandalous determination, Pointis was  
 permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but  
 he had not yet escaped every danger. On the four-  
 teenth day of August he fell in with a squadron under  
 the command of Captain Harlow, by whom he was  
 boldly engaged till night parted the combatants. He  
 was pursued next day; but his ships sailing better  
 than those of Harlow, he accomplished his escape,  
 and on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest.  
 That his ships, which were foul, should out-sail  
 the English squadron, which had just put to sea,  
 was a mystery which the people of England could  
 not explain. They complained of having been be-  
 trayed through the whole course of the West-Indian  
 expedition. The King owned he did not under-  
 stand marine affairs, the entire conduct of which  
 he abandoned to Ruffel, who became proud, ar-  
 bitrary, and unpopular, and was supposed to be  
 betrayed by his dependents. Certain it is, the ser-  
 vice was greatly obstructed by faction among the  
 officers, which with respect to the nation had all  
 the effects of treachery and misconduct.

§ L.I. The success of the French in Catalonia,  
 Flanders, and the West-Indies, was balanced by their  
 disappointment in Poland. Louis, encouraged by  
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the remonstrances of the Abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, resolved to support the Prince of Conti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted great sums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The Emperor had at first declared for the son of the late King: but, finding the French party too strong for this competitor, he entered into a negociation with the Elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. Having performed these articles, he declared himself a candidate, and was publicly espoused by the Imperialists. The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odescalchi, nephew to Pope Innocent, were likewise competitors; but, finding their interest insufficient, they united their influence with that of the Elector, who was proclaimed King of Poland. He forthwith took the oaths required, procured an attestation from the Imperial court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Louis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of the Prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new king, would not suffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himself with a small retinue. He, therefore, went on shore at Marienburg, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party; but the new King Augustus acted with such

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**BOOK.** vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army: besides he suspected the fidelity of his own Polish partisans: he, therefore, refused to part with the treasure he had brought, and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk.

**I.** **1697.** § LII. The establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of Peter the Czar of Muscovy, who having formed great designs against the Ottoman-Porte, was very unwilling to see the crown of Poland possessed by a partisan of France, which was in alliance with the Grand Signor. He, therefore, interested himself warmly in the dispute, and ordered his general to assemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the interest of the Prince of Conti, considerably influenced the election. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment, by travelling; and that he might be the less restricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curiosity, he determined to travel in disguise. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular of maintaining a fleet in the Black-sea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embassy for Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the States-General. Having intrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he now disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue,

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He first disclosed himself to the Elector of Brandenburg in Prussia, and afterwards to King William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common laborer with a ship-carpenter in Holland, whom he served for some months with wonderful patience and assiduity. He afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he set out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his sister was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon this occasion; he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself with his own hand performing the office of executioner.

§ LIII. The negotiations at Ryswick proceeded very slowly for some time. The Imperial ministers demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrenees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The Imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by

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**BOOK.** article. The Spaniards insisted upon the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The plenipotentiaries of France declared, they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the preliminary articles: but were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negociation; and the Spanish ambassadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the Earl of Portland held a conference with Mareschal Boufflers, near Halle, in sight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the second day of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and mutually signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day King William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. The subject of this field-negociation is said to have turned upon the interest of King James, which the French monarch promised to abandon: others, however, suppose, that the first foundation of the partition-treaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's sole aim was to put an end to an expensive and unsuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of France an acknowledgement of his title, which had since the Queen's death become the subject of dispute. He perceived the Emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and foresaw numberless difficulties in discussing such

a complication of interests by the common method of treating : he, therefore, chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealousy of the allies, and quicken the negociation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, King James had published two manifestoes, addressed to the catholic and protestant princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress ; but his remonstrances being altogether disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the same time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered : but Kaunitz, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediator an ultimatum, importuning, That he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasburgh with its appurtenances : That he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name ; and demanded, That the church and chapter of Liège should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, That the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated : That, therefore, the King of France would reserve Strasburgh and unite it, with its

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1697. dependencies, to his crown for ever: that in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniences and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body from France's being in possession of Luxemburgh, and exhorting them in the strongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States-General, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the Imperial ambassadors demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the Emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though the Emperor and empire should not concur.

§ LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors, while the Imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing, this was the second time that a

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separate peace had been concluded with France ; and that the states of the empire , who had been imposed upon through their own credulity , would not for the future be so easily persuaded to engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France , King William promised to pay a yearly pension to Queen Mary D'Este , of fifty thousand pounds , or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament . The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French King engaged , that he would not disturb or disquiet the King of Great - Britain in the possession of his realms or government : nor assist his enemies , nor favor conspiracies against his person . This obligation was reciprocal . A free commerce was restored . Commissaries were appointed to meet at London , and settle the pretensions of each crown , to Hudson's Bay , taken by the French during the late peace , and retaken by the English in the course of the war ; and to regulate the limits of the places to be restored as well as the exchanges to be made . It was likewise stipulated , That , in case of a rupture , six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects : That the separate article of the treaty of Nimeguen , relating to the principality of Orange , should be entirely executed ; and , That the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of signing . The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice , a perpetual amity , a mutual restitution , a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other , a confirmation of the peace with Savoy , a re-establishment

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of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburg, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French: this dispute was left to the decision of commissioners; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the States-General. A remonstrance in favor of the French protestant refugees in England, Holland and Germany, was delivered by the Earl of Pembroke to the mediator, in the name of the protestant allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty; but the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to King William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles: the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London.

§ LV. The Emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the

success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the grand Signor, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the Grand Vizier, the Aga of the Janissaries, seven-and-twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Theysse: six thousand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the Grand Signor himself escaping with difficulty: a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great superiority in point of number, and as the Imperialists did not lose a thousand men during the whole action. The Emperor, perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought proper to make use of the armistice, and continue the negociation after the fore-mentioned treaties had been signed. This was likewise the case with the princes of the empire; though those of the protestant persuasion complained, that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was stipulated, That in the places to be restored by France, the Roman Catholic religion should continue as it had been re-established. The ambassadors of the protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, That the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had formerly prevailed; but this demand was rejected, as being equally disagreeable to France and the Emperor. Then they refused to sign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the

**BOOK I.** Emperor, and the catholic princes of the empire. By this pacification, Triers, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were restored to their respective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the duchy of Deux Ponts, were ceded to the King of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the Electorate of Cologn ; and Cardinal Furstemberg restored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the Dutches of Orleans upon the Palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the Emperor; and in the mean time the Elector Palatine agreed to supply her highness with an annuity of one hundred thousand florins. The ministers of the protestant princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion, and afterwards solemnly protested against the manner in which the negociation had been conducted. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexion, as well as a national debt, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burden. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unsatisfied. Nevertheless, he reaped the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne; and the confederacy, though not successful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and

arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge the acquisitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had the allies been true to one another; had they acted from genuine zeal for the common interests of mankind; and prosecuted with vigor the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace, despondence, and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London, amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been infallibly beggared.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.









